KARLHEINZ DESCHNER

Criminal History of Christianity

Volume 4

Early Middle Ages

BERSERKER

BOOKS

About this book

These first three hundred years of the early Middle Ages were a time of turbulent awakening and upheaval, but also of portwurling, a time more xriJd and bloodstained than almost any other, and yet impregnated with incense, in which the West, Europe and Germany were born. There is a secession from **Byzantium,** the Eastern Church. The war with Islam begins. In Rome, the popes become powerful rulers who even rebel against the emperor.

Pope Gregory I., - The only pope of the Middle Ages and modern times with the title of ecclesiastical teacher, Gregory the Great is a low-and-order type, a man of double standards, who repeatedly preaches repentance and the imminent end of the world, but who himself pursues the expansion of papal power at all costs, for which he recommends the use of candles and torture, He also **knows** how to operate with bribes, tax breaks and generous pensions and, in addition to all his attacks on scliismatics, heretics and pagans, still finds time to write works that are brimming with spirituality, superstition, banality and absurdity.

This volume concludes with the chapters on Charlemagne: his unlawful autocracy, his op- portunistic relations with the popes, his destruction of the Lombard empire at papal insistence, his extremely bloody thirty-year "Sch6ertmissioc" with the S6ctls, his destruction of the Avar empire.

The author

Karllieinz Deschner, born i9- in Bamberg, a soldier during the war, studied law, theology, philosophy, literature and history. Since i qJ8, Deschner has been publishing his revealing and provocative stories on the criticism of religion and the church. The researching writer lives in the small Franconian town of Hassfuri am Main, which has a strong Catholic character. For his research

Wtf H tRtCV9 f ' -t TVUSER RH$ '2Z'gÜh t'2t.

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KARLHEINZ DESCHNER

Criminal history of Christianity

Volume q

F R O M T H E A L T E R

From King Clovis I (around 5ooJ
until the death of Charlemagne -(8z§)

ROWOHLT TASCHENBUCH VERLAG

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Wilhelm Adler
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Prof. Dr. Hans Wolffheim
Franz Zitzlsperger
Dr. Ludwig Zollitseh

OVERVIEW

-Christ had long had his eye on the ger- manic Yölkcr ... F.inc new blossom came up in the sky of Jer church.°
The Catholic theologian Leo Rügcr'

-Also da9 catholisCfie *MiHel4lter* isc Leine time dcl .eclipse', but was the Fröhlichkcir and Lcb<nsbcjahurtg ...
We grcifcn out of the abundance the Blue Monday, the school and KiHdet festivals, the bishop's play, the Ci rrgoriusfest, the Rutcagsag, the Toischlagcn of winter, the Fasrnachtiage, the Lehrcrfangeo, the Salvesingen, the Palmeeel, the Pfingsi
1ümmcl.- - We a r e not guilty of any tlbcrircibunB if we consider the Jtus effect clcs f'rinzips det bond by the Catholic Church during the Mimlaher to be one of the greatest gifts of happiness and well-being in the history of the world.
designate.
The Katho\ik Hans Rost'

The life of the middle-class Christian is permeated **in all its** relationships, ¡ a completely saturated with religious ideas. There is no thing and no action that is not ***brought*** into connection with Christ and the faith. Everything is geared towards ciiw religious atiffasawtg alkr things, and we are facing a tremendous unfolding of intimate faith.
ohan Huicinga'

Historical epochs are not predestined. They were not decided - higher up - in order to be fulfilled by humanity. Rather, the history of man is an immense chaos of stories, and subsequently he seeks to somehow bring all the confusingly divergent tendencies into order, into manageable schemes. Rr adds structures and caesuras - and the whole appears as an expression of meaningful formative forces, everything looks as if it had to be this way, as if it could not have been otherwise, as if, for example, the Wcströmian Empire had only existed so that Europe could inherit it. This is a view that encourages our desire to periodize and is probably intended to do so. In reality, all these temporal delimitations and classifications, these seemingly fixed points, key dates, lines of development are nothing but the result of certain or rather quite uncertain points of view, precarious attempts at orientation, are vague constructs that have been agreed upon, be it with -'higher- meaning or without it.

The -early Middle Ages, the period roughly from the beginning of the ö. his to the io. Century, is a time of turbulent upheaval and upheaval, but also of continuity, of assimilation, of continuity, a time of decline and transition, of the old legacy and the new: the emergence of the West, Europe, Germany, the combination of ancient, Christian, Germanic traditions, the divorce from Bjrzanz, the Eastern Church, the Islamic Church and the Germanic Church.

Last but not least, it is a time in which politics and religion are inseparable.

The popes' alliances with the Sr0ats also changed. But however they twist and turn in the course of time, Rome always tries to cling to the strongest power - Byzantium, the Ostrogoths, the Lombards, the Franks - and profits from them. Conversely, things look very different. Johannes Scherr, the German cultural and literary critic of the iq. Century, even writes: -As often as the state engages i n a 'do-ut-des'-chess [a policy of mutual con- cessions] with the church, it will be the losing part.-*

No matter how you weigh one or the other, it is definitely a time that, more rather than less, is rolling along in a frenzy of blood. It sounds grotesque when Ferdinand Gregorovius, the man of so much merit, celebrates the fresh shaping of national life: "Italy was renewed by the Lombards, Gaul by the Franks, Spain by the Visigoths, Britain by the Saxons - and yet two dozen pages earlier he calls this Lombard regiment - one of the most terrible epochs in the history of Italy. Renewal through 5chrec- ken, then, but - through never-ending horrors, through a continuous history of atrocities, a perpetual history of murder and manslaughter, of war, oppression and exploitation *right up to the present day*

FROM CONVICTED SUBSIDIARIES 2U CONVICTED MEN

At first, the Roman bishops recognized the supremacy of Ostrom as a matter of course, completely freely and unconditionally. This was still true of Gregory I, "the Great" {died 6o¢). Byzantium was a world power that encompassed significant areas of Asia and **Europe**, whose influence reached from Persia to the Atlantic. And the ecclesiastical administration, which had always been closely a l i g n e d w i t h the political structure of the empire as a whole, **was** oriented **towards it.** The so-called

Caesaropapism, which emerged with the first Christian emperor, affected the Church in both East and West. The monarchs, whose power was considered to come from God, commanded all patriarchs and bishops at the time of the migration of peoples. And they all had to obey, including the Bishop of Rome, of course. Like every prelate, he was subordinate to the emperor. There was no resistance or protest from any pope or patriarch against the interference of female power in ecclesiastical affairs". The emperors practiced this interference
-without any difference between East and West, and both parts of the Church seemed to find nothing wrong with Caesaropapism (Alivisatos). Thus, the old apologists' talk of the "Byzantine captivity" of the popes turned out to be mere
-Unsititi-. The popes were -convinced subjects and not
Slaves **of the** Roman **Empire" (Richards).°**

Then, however, the fiasco of the Western **Catholic Church**47 consolidated the papacy. It experienced a great increase in power, an expansion of its sphere of influence; as did, all in all, the episcopate.

At first, the end of Roman hegemony, the collapse of the Roman aristocracy, the dismantling of the administration, appeared to the clerical circles as a catastrophe; after all, they had collaborated closely with the state and had always gained in importance as a result. But its collapse in no way entailed that of Roman Catholicism. On the contrary: just as it almost always and everywhere profited from collapses and catastrophes, so it did at the time.

In Rome, the **temples fell** down, the imperial palace crumbled, rubble piled up in the theaters and the huge thermal baths, weeds and ivy grew - and the priests helped themselves. Ancient bathing chairs became bishop's chairs, splendid alabaster and porphyry bathtubs became baptismal fonts and dubious martyr receptacles. Marble wall coverings, precious mosaic floors, beautiful columns, stones from old villas were brought in to enrich the places of worship. Temples were turned into churches, the Rome of the Caesars into a city of priests, in which the religious

(or what they called it); in which all temporal festivals disappeared in favor of ecclesiastical ones, at times even the belief in the imminent end of the /cl was general, and the rush for priestly privileges was such that Emperor Mau- rikios 5qa forbade the transfer of soldiers to monasteries and of civilian civil servants to the clergy.

And as on a small scale, so on a large scale. The secular power of the popes, the basis of the future Papal States, literally blossomed out of the ruins of the Western Roman Empire, thanks to the impotence of Byzantium and an ever-growing lust for power. As early as the y. The bishops of Rome, the supposed successors of]esu, who wanted no empire of this world, the disciples without money in their belts, were the biggest landowners in the Roman Empire. And its debacle only accelerated their rise, whereby they completely took over the decaying state constitution.

Under the Merovingians, in the early Byzantine period, the bishops also gained influence over "secular" matters, the entire communal sphere. They controlled state work and officials, city fortifications, the supply of troops, and were even involved in the appointment of provincial governors.

They turn every disaster into their salvation, every fiasco into their advantage, the disaster of both the empire of the emperor and the kingdom of the Goths. And even from the misfortune of the Laiigobard invasion they work their luck. First, with the help of the Lombard swords, they distanced themselves from Byzantium, which had been defeated in many ways.

-The Franks weakened the barbarians, because they finished off the Lombards - always on the side of the Starbandites: a parasite strategy the likes of which the world has never seen before.

The popes had long contested their claims to primacy vis-à-vis their peers, the other popes, especially those of Byzantium, with all kinds of subtleties and forgeries (11, e. g. chapter). And were they, at least as ecclesiastical heads of the West and governors of the partcs Romanae,

in the y. Century already relatively independent de facto, they will become so de jure in the 8th century, albeit by pure breach of law. dcrt. They dated their letters b3S 7$ after the reign of the Byzantine emperors. However, the Byzantiii governor was already appointed under Grcgof Il 17s 5W3*), at the -Roman Revolution-, to Rome, the Byzantine army from Bcnevent and Spoleto, naturally with the support of Lombard troops. However, after the Lombards had become too powerful for the popes, the popes took up arms and had them destroy the Lombards. From then on, they collaborated and grew with the Frankish emperors. And when they were strong enough, they also wanted to be the rulers of the empire.

Until754 , the Roman papet cin was (more or less) the succumbed Untcrian of Constantinople. Soon, however, Rome no longer dated according to imperial years, and also refrained from Emperor coins, the erection of emperor images in churches, no longer mentioning the emperor in church services. In contrast, the Pope allied himself with the German king against his former master. He transferred imperial privileges to him, including completely new ones, even offering him the imperial crown - a policy that benefited the Pope above all, almost making him the 'father of the ruling family'.

Charlemagne's coronation in Rome in 8oo by Leo III was a legal act, a provocation of the Byzantine emperor, previously the only legal head of the Christian left, and could only be understood as a rebellion in Constantinople. And indeed, the popes' turn to the Franks led to a definitive break with Byzantium.

Even though Emperor Michael I 8xz recognized Charlemagne as the imp- perator of the West and the rightful souvenir, in Byzantium the Western Empire was basically considered usurped. At Lothar's coronation in *8z$* ii, the Pope handed him the sword as a sign of the Church. And Rome gradually brought the Romano-Germanic kingdoms under its influence; after all, after the fall of the Western Roman monarchs, new

Symbioses with the nine rulers, with Theode- rich, Clovis, Pippin, Charles. However, the future Germanic empires of Alfred (7* 99s, OttOS I {Q3 3), Olaf the Holy {ioi5-ioz8), who barbarically promoted the spread of the Chri-
The German Empire could only have come into being on a Christian basis, not to mention the medieval German Empire in general.

Of course, this Holy Roman Empire was hardly Roman and certainly not holy - unless one sees (quite correctly) with Helvétius, Nietzsche and aru)eteti in the holy the lnticgriff of the criminal. In any case, by eliminating or winning over Arians and saints, by obtaining its own state, the papacy achieved a steady increase in both its power and its possessions.'°

Especially in the early Middle Ages, the state and church were extremely closely intertwined. Not only did secular and canon law have the same basis, but purely clerical wishes and demands also found expression in temporal laws. The decrees of the -cnrtcilia mixta- applied equally to state and church.

The bishops were also related and intertwined with the aristocracy. They were the brothers, vettcrn, the sons of the female nobility. They shared the same political and economic interests. Consequently, they were drawn into the struggle of the greats throughout the Middle Ages, fighting with the kings against the princes and vice versa, with the pope against the emperor and with the emperor against the pope, mii a
Pope against the other, for 7 years after all. They fought with the parish priests against the monks and also against their equals, in field, street and church battles, with daggers,
Poison, in every possible way. Treason and rebellion became a common occurrence for the clergy, according to the Catholic theologian Kobcr."

The Christian Great Church had practically no principle at all towards states and so-called authorities: It always acted with the most useful power. It allowed itself to be

In all their contacts with the state, they were guided by only one thing: their advantage (in their language - the most important historical insight of all: -God-!) Opportunity always remained the overriding principle. Only if you got what you wanted were you prepared to give as little as possible, of course, even if you promised a lot. "Destroy the misbelievers with me," cried the patriarch Nestorius (soon to be condemned as a -Keizer- himself) to the emperor in his inaugural address in 4Z8, "so will I destroy the Persians with you" (*57 f.).

If they were weak, they bent like willows in the wind. When Patriarch Poppo of Aquileia IOz4 took possession of Grado and his patriarchate, which could have been the beginning of Venedib's incorporation into the German Empire, Pope J o h n XIX immediately agreed. However, when Poppo, who was still fleeing in the gJeichen Jelir, returned as the rightful patriarch, Pope John also gave his blessing. Three years later - Conrad II was in Rome for the imperial coronation - John, in accordance with German wishes, condemned the Venetian patriarch and defeated Grado again for Aquileia. And after the failure of the German ambitions, John's successor Benedict IX made Grado independent again. made Grado independent again.'*

No matter how much men, for the sake of their own laughter, fought Catholic emperors and princes, the state and the church always remained closely linked, despite all the tensions, conflicts and opposites, from late antiquity until well into the Reformation period. The history of the two could not be separated for more than a millennium. Even more:

-The church was at the center of all interests, whether spiritual or secular; all actions, politics and legislation were related to it, all the driving forces of the world were in its service and derived their authority from it. The culture and history of the Middle Ages coincided with the church.

But with its enormous material advantages, its organizational consolidation, its participation in legal and state political life, its influence grew more and more. The pre-Constantiitic Catholica was also said to be a clerical

The most stringent of these was the acceptance of public office, as the bishop of Gaul in late antiquity was already entrusted with military options such as building fortresses. And what was lost in the south through the Arabs, the -unbelievers-, was made in the world through the expansion of Catholicism to the north. Under the Merovingian kings, Christianity became the decisive ideological power. There were almost formal dynasties of bishops, indeed, Chilpe- rich of Soissons spoke the oft-quoted: -No one rules but the bishops, our glory is gone." Under the Arian Ostrogoths, the episcopate also took on state functions. In England in the early Middle Ages, the prelates were members of the Imperial Diet, statesmen and lords. Together with the regent, they determined the law, they were his first advisors, they helped elect the kings, overthrew and elevated them. In Italy, too, bishops and abbots established themselves as administrative officials alongside the counts and enacted the laws together with the temporal greats. Indeed, from the middle of the 6th to the end of the 7th century Here, public life is completely shaped by the church and harvested."

Even later, in order to outlive our period, it survived its allies, it outlasted all collapses. If one power fell, it was already with the next. Or at least stood ready for it. Although it was a state only among states, it had its "metaphysics" ahead of them all. And while it always put forward religious matters, spiritual visions, spiritual preaching, while it preached "the higher" to the whole world, it strove for political world domination.

Of course, popes and bishops had already tried relatively early on to make the state their beadle, to subordinate it, to elevate themselves. Doctors of the Church such as Ambrose ii 43s ff.) or John Chrysostom i -47 f.) give evidence of this. already clearly recognizable; most arrogantly, however, only a few Generations later, Pope GelasiuS1. l4s• 4q6) in his 'doctrine of the two powers', which gained world-historical relevance. Even after this, the royal power of the sacred Authority of the bishops -from the neck- bcubcn (II3 zq ff.).

Augustine still does not recognize anywhere the doctrine of a subordination of the state. At a time when the Church was in conformity with it, the saint could, heaven knows how often, assure that the Christian faith would strengthen civic fidelity if it were allowed to create obedient, willing subjects. It didn't matter who ruled. - What does it matter under what rule a man lives, who must die if only those in power do not force him into godlessness and injustice!" - If, of course, "justice" - and here that means the church, the bishop - was missing, then for Augustine governments were hardly anything other than great gangs of robbers."

In the Middle Ages, however, the clergy's lust for power grew **constantly. No** misery of the masses moves them even remotely as much as their own egotism.

The Frankish synods of the early q. The Frankish synods of the early eighteenth century were much less concerned with the general need than with the inviolability of church property and the liberation of prelates from all secular pressure. Thus the Paris Synod in June gas declared that the masses had been suffering horribly for years: -And Cai- ser Constantine, they said, fiifiing on the report of Rufin, had uttered to the bisei courts at the Council of Nicaa: -You have made us priests and given them the power to judge us too, and therefore we are judged by you with justice, but you cannot be judged by man, for you, given to us by God, are God's, and men may not judge gods.

The -gods-, however, now began to take up the Gelasian doctrine of the branches and to take seriously what had previously only been represented theo- retically. For Nicholas I (8$8-8 7i, who had made the papacy
-to the proud height of a "world reel", -which all other
powers far behind him 1ieB- (Seppelt), kgm quite naturally the spiritual power before the secular, came that one
-This again resulted in a duty of obedience on the part of the princes, but gradually not only with regard to directives in the ecclesiastical sphere, but also in border conflicts and in all questions of Christian moral law

- a blank field. In fact, this meant that whenever the clergy saw its interests violated, the state had to bow (as is still often the case today in some cases - such as abortion or the so-called disturbance of religious peace)."

However, if the papacy initially held the doctrine of the two powers, according to which the secular and spiritual powers, the aucioritas sacrata pontificum and the regalis potestas, which supposedly came from God, complemented each other, the doctrine of the -two swords- (duo gladii), according to which Christ, according to the Roman claim, had given the papacy both swords, ergo granted it spiritual and temporal power, in short, hegemony. For as the Roman high priests themselves were powerful and masters of a state, they had as little need of a strong German hereditary monarchy as they did of the monarchical unity of Italy, which they therefore maintained with all their might until the late iq. century. century with all means at their disposal, including force of arms."

The aim of the papacy now became (and secretly is, no doubt, even today) political world domination with religious slogans. While it spiritually constrained the masses, while it - typical of the entire Christian Middle Ages - related all of life to a future, to the attainment of eternal bliss, the kingdom of heaven, it itself pursued purely Western interests ever more rigorously, emancipated itself once and for all from the Western empire, overthrew the Hohenstaufen dynasty in a century-long battle in order to be lord over everyone and everything: a parasite who, after first making others bleed for him, after lying and faking his way up, after stealing more and more so-called rights and powers, also took up arms himself, and continued to ensure his earthly power with heavenly tirades, always brutal to the extreme.

Paul's doctrine of the divine institution of authority and the duty of general submission became theoretically fundamental for the relationship to the state. Although the obedience preached here, the absolute obedience of the subjects, contrasts with the widespread statesmanship of the earliest Christians, it has remained decisive to this day. Thus the

Church to the respective rulers with whom it has to collaborate in order to remain in power itself."

As early as Gregory VII (the author of the "Dictatus papae"), who ioya began the battle with the emperor, who laid claim to Corsica and Sardinia, the Norman Empire in Italy, France, Hungary, Dalmatia, Denmark and Ruhland, there were references to the theory that the pope was entitled to all power, including the right of disposal over the states. Gregory and his successors demanded at least a

-potestas indirecta in temporalia -, which then Boniface VIII. Bull • Unam sanctam• (*3 -) to a -potestas directa in temporalia -, on which the Lateran Council of ii•7 still insists and from which only Leo XIII officially distanced himself in i 885.

According to Gregory VII and his high medieval successors, following Augustine, imperial power goes back to the devil. It is, like every worldly principality, -fleshly-, in the possession of -sinners-. But the devilish power could be transformed into blessing through the purifying, healing, saving power of the papacy, through subordination to the priest-king. Indeed, every new foundation of a state in this world tyrannized by the devil would only become legitimate through papal recognition. The pope appears here as the sole repository of truth and justice, as the supreme lord and judge of the world. Everything must obey him, the successor of Peter. - Whoever is divorced from Peter - the pope declared - cannot find victory in battle or happiness in the world. For with steel-hard severity he destroys and shatters whatever opposes him. No one and nothing is beyond his power."

Bernard of Clairvaux draws the conclusion from this supreme authority of the pope: -The fullness of power over the churches of the world is conferred by unique privileges on the Apostolic See. Whoever therefore resists this power, resists the orders of God." Other Christian writers were, of course, upset at the time that the Pope - would rather be emperor! He now takes over the feudal system, the rash

legal and political factor of the time. As lord in chief, he bestowed kingdoms and principalities. And just as Gregory VII once wanted to reward William the Conqueror with England, so later Hadrian IV wanted to reward Henry II with Ireland. Henry II with Ireland, but he was as unresponsive as William.

But even in the ze. In the 20th century, a statue of the great fascist partner Pius XII figures in St. Peter's Basilica as the "rector mun- di", the leader of the world."

i. CHAPTER

THE INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY AMONG THE GERMANIC TRIBES

-The introduction of Christianity to the €.itrmans was a precious gift from heaven ... Christianity has ennobled the good natural dispositions of our ancestors, has given the historical s"-d-"g d-s d--tschcn Yolkn in Abcndla "d di-h- .

. .-

Hirtmbri<f dm dcutsckcn Episcopate VOm y. }ufii i934'

-In this sense, it longs formally for a Consecration and ßekehffl^B'" -<- n min the figure of Christ made them feel right, the sound of Oiristus must have struck their ears as the most sublime heroic song. the sound they ever heard - Anton Stonncr {with lmpri- matur) 1934²

t the end of antiquity and in the centuries that followed, Christianity conquered the Germanic world. It had spread through armies and traders from northern Gaul to the Rhine. In the old Germanic Rhine provinces there were many Christian congregations *as early as* the turn of the 3rd century, and from Constantinian times t h e r e were church buildings in Bonn, Xanten, Cologne, especially in Trier, officially the imperial residence since zq3 (J zzy ff.).

A Bishop Maternus of Cologne took part in the Lateran Synod 3-3. A Bishop Agroecius of Trier took part in the Synod 3 4 is Arles. But we know from Cologne after the death of Bishop Severin {n. 39y), we do not know the name of a single bishop for more than iyo years. The oldest historically verified chief shepherd of Mainz, Sidoniiis, appears in the 6th century. Only in the yth, 6th century
but there are also prelates with Germanic names, and at the Council of Paris 6i¢ (6i ?} 3 bishops (of yp) with German names, including those of Strasbourg, Speyer and Worms. The oldest Christian inscriptions (only on gravestones) date from the
5th century, mostly from the cemetery at the - only in the 5ojäh-Albanskirche in Mainz, which was destroyed in the **Second World War**.*

In the later q. However, Christianity already became the dominant religion in certain areas of Latinia because the laws of Theodosius, Gratias and Valentinian il. ordered its entry". (Cf. I4 oz ff., qzi ff., 4q3 ff., ¢dq ff.)'

In Gaul, the Catholic Church had already established a strong presence earlier.
considerable extent. Around a5o there were already episcopal churches in

Lyon, Vienne, Arles, Toulouse, Natbonnc, Auiun, whose upper Simplicius '> 4 century attacked a statue of Cybele {here called Berecinthia), which was found in a corridor procession.
sion is carried along.

At the Council of Arles (3*4) --g--n i6 representatives of Gallic dioceses. It is interesting to note that at that time the distribution of the Christian communities coincided with the economically intensive zones (Beisel). In the second half of this century, the episcopal sees were springing up almost everywhere (Demougeot). The Notitia Galliaruin, a provincial directory for Gaul and Germania, lists between 3 Hnd di3
after all, ¡7 metropolises are subordinate to me q dioceses. Al-
However, many disappear again in the course of the y. century. Numerous bishoprics became vacant, the pralats fled, were banished, occasionally even perished with their city, as with the Helvetii the chief shepherd of Nyon at the hands of the Emans. (At the time of Clovis, there were at most q merropolitan bishoprics with etuia xzo bishoprics).

But there were divisions in the episcopate, and these began
The popes interfered with the process. (Cf. for example I] zyo ff.)*.

At the end of the y. century, the Franks began to be
-In the late 6th century, the Anglo-Saxons and the Latigobards were "missionized", in the qth century the Christianization of the European north began, and around the turn of the millennium the "conversion" of the Czechs, Poles and Hungarians. And since Christianity was no longer, as in pre-Constantinian times, a despised religion, but the recognized religion of a world empire, the popes drew entire peoples into their net instead of individuals - just as they, in other ways, had mir- rized entire peoples,
-The Ostrogoths, for example {II 4 ff.) or the Waiidals (II x ff.), about whom the monk Prosper Tiro, who lived in Marseille, adds his description of the Middle Ages, which is still effective today, often abomination propa- gdnda" (Diesner).

CONVERSION METHODS AND MOTIVES

The Christianization of the Germanic peoples - called nationes, gentes, populi, civitates and others in the sources - took place not only at very different times, but also in very different ways.

However, two typically Christian activities went hand in hand in the Ger- man mission: preaching and destruction. However, preaching was not the main means of mission in Inerovingian times. "There was a more sensual method of proving to the pagans the impotence of their own gods and the superiority of the Christ God, namely the destruction of the pagan shrines. The missionary sermon used to initiate or explain such destruction and was therefore, in complete contrast to the old Christian missionary approach, in second place (Blanke). And Jiirgen Misch writes: -Even the first missionaries thought themselves unthinkingly above much that actually belongs to the substance of Jesus' teaching. For the sake of nominal acceptance they changed, omitted and falsified. This shows very clearly that it was less about spreading a new doctrine of salvation to save the souls of all who believed in it, but about the very real power interests of those who profited from it ... The kingdom of God on earth was definitely of a material and temporal nature. And its establishment was pushed forward with all, but really all means."'

Of course, it was not only destroyed, but often "merely" Christianized, i.e. the pagan temples were converted into Christian ones by exorcising the evil spirits through exorcisms and rededicating the buildings as churches. J u s t as everything that seemed useful was assimilated, incorporated, and everything else destroyed as the work of the devil. (Cf. II 57 ff.)

An important motive in the conversion of the Gentiles, also in the The way in which the "fear of God" was used in the ganging up of already converted people was without doubt the constant instilling of scruples and fear, a continuous scaremongering - fear through the centuries. Fear was the "be-

the state of the average person in the Middle Ages …: Fear of the plague, fear of invasion by foreign armies, fear of the tax collector, fear of witchcraft and magic, above all fear of the unknown (Ri- chards). The priests of many religions lived and live from the fear of those they lead, especially the Christian priests.'°

It speaks for itself that St. Cacsarius of Arles (d. 5d2.), an utterly Romanized archbishop (specialist for rural pastoral care and, his particular fame, the day-by-day sermon), in almost all of his more than two hundred traditional prop8ganda essays, shies away from the -Judgement. Which is one of the reasons for his homiletical outpourings, he hardly ever fails to invoke -Christ's judgment seat-, the -eternal judge-, his -hard and irrevocable primal judgment- etc."

The pagan Germanic tribes who converted to Christianity were This was often purely materially motivated, if only for reasons of "prestige", especially if one came under the oppression of Christian neighbors. At their royal courts, even distinguished pagans were shooed away from the meal "like dogs" because Christians w e r e forbidden to eat at the same table as pagans. Characteristically, the nobility were the first to grovel, whether in Bavaria, Thuringia or Saxony.

Greed also played a role, as vividly illustrated by the anecdote of the Norman who once came to Emperor Louis' court with fifty others at Easter to be baptized. However, as more baptismal robes were missing, replacement robes were quickly patched up, whereupon an older baptizer shouted angrily at the emperor: -They have already bathed me here twenty times and put the best and whitest clothes on me, but such a sack is not for a baptizer, but for a swineherd [subulcos]. And if I were not ashamed of my nakedness, after my clothes have been taken from me, but not the ones you gave me, I would leave you your robe and your Christ."

We have long known that much - not all - of what is known to the world about

the "Germans" is a lie. He wasn't as staid, open-hearted, loyal, honorable, just and loud as the common image of the Germanic man has presented him for too long and made him fit for school, especially in Germany. Or only at an early stage of his development. The values of the Ger- manic heroic saga, the political Germanic ideology, the delusion of the "noble people" of the Germans, of their noble virtues of honor and loyalty, this somewhat kitschy cliché, the image of the "read-book Germanic", is false, is above all also antithetically inspired, namely largely by the "counter-image of the Roman". And it became, it is all the more dangerous as it - among other things - also gained political explosiveness in the later 19th century through the identification of an old German and old Nordic culture, which was common in Romanticism. In the later eighteenth century, this became even more politically explosive for the relationship between the Indo-European *and the Semitic* (von See). The Indo-Germanic, a kind of revitalized Germanic, became as much t h e antithesis of the Jew as the Germanic was to the Roman - as if humanity, or a large part of it, fitted in perfectly with the photo of the Berlin national economist Werner Sombart in his pamphlet "Merchants and Heroes" (iqi J).

At that time, Sombart - filled with militarism, as he *rcnommierc* - *saw* war itself as something sacred, as the holy on earth. And countless field and other priests (on Germany's side as well as on that of its opponents) thought, wrote and preached in a very similar way at the time.

One thing about the traditional image of the Teuton, however, is - among other things - correct: his preference for quarrelling, fighting, war; so unmistakable that the propagandists of Christianity started here.

JESUS CHRIST BECOMES THE GERMAN HAUDEGEN ODEn FROM "GRlFfi TO LIFE"

The idea of power became an essential motivating factor, so everything that was powerful, magical, amulets, oracles and spells in the pagan cults had to be overcome by the strength, the all-powerful magic of the Christian faith, especially with the cult of saints and relics. However, the source of supernatural power proved itself most securely through the potency of the Christian idol in war, and within war again in battle.

"If Christ proves to be the helper *here*, he is the helper in the Germanic peoples' very own sphere of life. So he becomes the healer (Schmidt) from here."

However, Christianity was nationalized and Germanized from the very beginning when it was adopted by the Germanic tribes. And it was not only iii Christian epics that Christ appeared to the Germanic tribes as a kind of national and regional king. The Franks immediately considered themselves to be his special followers, his favored, his chosen people. The warriors rallied around him, just as they rallied around their princes. The saint is now also perceived as a hero of Christ and of God, Germanic thinking of followers is also transferred to his relationship with God, in short, the traditional Christian concepts are "filled with a completely new content, the Germanic-aristocratic-criminal-{Twelves). -The medieval Germanic tribes turned the religion of toleration and suffering, of world flight and world opinion into a crusader religion, the man of sorrows into a Germanic army king who roams the lands conquering with his armies and whom one must serve through battle. The Christian Teuton fights for his Lord Christ, as he fights for his earthly lord; even the monk in the cell feels like a member of the militia Christie (Dannenbaucr)."

And, of course, the clergy knew how to use the Roman cross to make the converted Germans proud of it. So brags

one in the prologue to the Lex Salica, the oldest Frankish tribal law:

> The Franks are an illustrious people, created by God himself,
> Tapkr in arms,
> Firm in the covenant of peace,
> Deep-thinking in counsel,
> Noble in body,
> Of pristine purity, exquisite form,
> Bold, swift and uncompromising, converted to the Catholic faith,
> Prei of heresy ...'*

According to Christian doctrine, all peoples are created by God himself - but those who are most in need are always courted the most. Thus the Franks take the place of the Chosen People of the Bible, the people of Israel. And in a more recent prologue of the Lex Salica, Christ also figures as the actual ruler of the gens Francorum. He himself takes the lead among the Franks. He loves those far superior to the old world power, -the chosen people of a new covenant-. -They have defeated the Romans and shaken off the Roman]och.""

Among the Franks, who first particularly venerated the dragon slayer St. George, then the former warhorse Martin of Tours, the greatest role was played by the army, and within it the foot soldiers, who usually fought in wedge formations. At first, cavalry were rare, horses were normally used as pack animals (the first Frankish cavalry attack against the Saxons did not take place until 6z6, under Clovis 11). The core of the very disparate fighting groups were the "elite battles", sometimes called -robustiores--. The national weapon was the throwing axe known as the francisca, which was also used in close combat. The Frankish sword was a tried and tested, frequently used instrument of pacification;

the weapon of the leaders: the double-edged long sword, the spatha; the weapon of the common man: a short, single-edged slashing sword, the scramasax - in later Carolingian times, it spread from northern Europe to the Orient. Christian warriors preferred to thrust the sword into the armpit. Lances and javelins were also not uncommon, but bows and arrows were."

Amazed by the list of the slaughter and manslaughter arsenal*

However, the foundations of the Christian occident are based on -culture- not on it* On -thc most efficient military machine in Europe- (McKitterick)* Or as it is put in the words of a -war historian" is called: -How much more impressive and plausible everything appears when historiography dares to reach into life!""""

Many Germanic princes unquestionably converted for purely power-political reasons. They worshipped the -star god- in Christ, especially the superior battle fighter, the one who brought victory. Thus Clovis the Frank, Edwin of Northumbria, the Vikings, who were all baptized after a vow and a well-done slaughter. And just as Odin used to baptize all -As *Codon* {Odin's name in the south) was considered a god of war, so now is Christ. He takes the place of the old battle gods, is połitized, mythologized, appears -almost as a nation god- (Heinsius). And it now becomes a matter of honor for every Christian king to defeat the -barbarians-, -who in their very nature as pagans stand outside the world order".^

The Franks, brought up to be fanatical believers, saw it as their duty and their right to "fight for Christ" (Zöllner). As late as the 7th . In the 7th century, Frankish Christians were still burying themselves with their weapons, in accordance with the ancient pagan belief in the afterlife. Even the resurrected Cliristus is depicted on a gravestone (found in the Frankish cemetery in Nieder- dollendorf, opposite Bonn) holding a lance in his right hand instead of a cross staff, the symbol of Frankish rule.

One understands that the often so bloodthirsty Old Testament

i 7• ff.) corresponded more to the people of the Middle Ages than the partly pacifist new; that the kings of the Old Testament were praised as role models to the Frenchmen, who were so fond of them.
to those - for the historian Ewig the announcement of a new stage in the Christianization of the idea of kingship.

APOLOGIES

Everywhere they pathetically spread the nonsense of the providential management of history. After epidemics and other catastrophes, but especially after victorious battles, people trumpeted this. Their military success was attributed to the right faith and the help of God.

After the slaughter of Frigidus (is4l, which the pious Theo **dosius,** aided by a whirlwind, won against Eugenius, who once again acknowledged his he- dentity (4ä3 -i. the outcome of the battle and the Bora miracle were seen on all sides as a sign of Christian superiority, as a judgment of God. Even Claudius Claudianus, the "stubborn pagan" {Otosius), the last poet of ancient Rome to be honored during his lifetime with a statue on the Forum Traianum*, wrote after the battle: "You are the emperor loved by God above all things ... for whom even the Aether stands and to whose banners the winds flow." And another prominent pagan, the praefecnis praetorip Nicomachus Flavianus, chose suicide in his time.

Under the Carolingians, the decisive victories are often attributed to the support of St. Peter. -However, as Pfppin **explained** to the papal legate Sergius in the battle against the Bavarians (p. jz8), -through **the intercession** of St. Peter, the Apostle Prince, by the judgment of God ... Bavaria and the Bavarians belonged to the rule of the Franks - and even minor successes, the conquest of a fortress, even the discovery of a spring (in the Saxon War y7 z) is considered a great achievement. divine "under out.^

But if one had misfortune - and how often it happened! - Now the disaster, the catastrophe, was a punishment from God, for low faithfulness, for example, the prevailing vices. This theology has been used through all the vicissitudes to this day.

-Our iniquities bring about the defeat of the Roman army-, klãg-39 . During the first great Germanic invasion, church teacher Jerome. -Woe to us who oppose God
us in such a way that he now uses the rascrei of the barbarians to vent his wrath on us.- Similarly, Rome's conquest Pro Il 3ą ff.), according to the Spanish priest Orosius at the time, only took place because of -the sinful people", -mchr by God's wrath els by the power of the enemy-. And still in the zo. Century f)orien this Pfaffentrug, it is said after the lost First World War in Germany: -Where did it cool? In the vitality and consistency of our convictions (which had been praised for four years!). And just after the loss of the Second World War, the German Jesuit Max Pribilla, writing in the Jesui- ten Postille, explained Nazism and collapse as the result of the Germans' "artificial incompetence"; previously, of course, in the same magazine, he had celebrated Hitler's "German revolution with Goebbels' tongues."

The versiertc Augustin again - who writes no less than zz books against the pagans, who justify Rum's fall with the abandonment of the gods, the failure of the Chri- sterigoxes
1 37 et seq.) - cautiously believes that the outcome of a wara proves but not yet its truth. God's plans are mysterious,
hidden from everyone. This was referred to in the Psalms and other Bible passages as soon as God's decisions seemed pro- pagan, absurd and inappropriate. However, the final victory of Christ could always be prophesied at great risk and then praised with glorious words that were mostly unknown to the alien church: -Obhcrr of Heaven", -Lord of Glories, -God King-, - the Almighty God", the -Victory Guardian-, -Victory Hero- etc."

FROM THE LEGACY

In general, the Germanic tribes did not convert individually, but rather cooperatively on a tribal basis. Unlike the educated Greeks and Romans, the barbarians were easily and quickly converted by the church, and they were neither as culturally nor religiously renowned as the reports of their Christian neighbors suggest.
-socket drill-'.

The word "barbarus" already had a predominantly derogatory meaning. It was traditionally used negatively in Christianity as the opposite of -christianus- until the Germanic peoples became Catholic and the Muslim peoples appeared as new barbarians - Berbers, barbarians! - appear. The non-Christian must always be the devil, often enough even the non-Catholic.
But -Barbarus- can also serve as a self-description of the Germanic tribes, whose paganism, however easily they give it up outwardly, often continues to have an effect for a long time."

The popes appointed their legates to the princes. Because once you had them - their wives were often already Catholic - you usually had the people too, immediately or later. Religion was a political issue, as it still is today under very different circumstances, and the greats dragged their followers behind them, persuading, promising, threatening. In any case, it was not the gospel that decided, the conviction, but the king's decision, the princely council, the battle, the conquest, the treaty. Most of them went
light-footed from one religion to another" (Baet-
k#"

Even on a smaller scale, the landlords were **approached** for "conversion". **As a** rule, the propagandists of Christianity first won over the great agriculturalists and then set up a base on their land, usually leaving behind a small church and disciples - and moved on to the next lord. It was not too difficult to subdue so many "barbarians", who soon looked up reverently to all the holy priests and monks, mightily impressed by exorcisms, ceremonies and miracles. They faithfully adopted the so foreign myste-

rien, so strange dogmas and served in shy devotion this overpowering shamanism of the south, apparently only inspired by the desire to make the church rich and powerful - for the salvation of their own souls, out of horror of the wood fire, out of desire for paradise."

Missionization took place unevenly, more slowly outside the cities, although the pagan Franks in particular did not put up much resistance, even though here and there, especially in the countryside, they tenaciously resisted the destruction of their idols. People are particularly conservative when it comes to religion. And just as even today the peasants, the rural dwellers, cling more to Christianity, so in late antiquity, in the early Middle Ages, it was the peasants who stood by paganism the longest, while the city dwellers, today largely no longer Christian, were then often already predominantly Christian. The Germanic tribes, however, were mainly farmers, country dwellers, and in the east the French and Alemannic pagans outnumbered the local Christians. Christianity was a city religion and, since it was a state religion, also - grotesquely enough, considering its revolutionary origins - the religion of the feudal, leading circles, who above all sought their advantage in it. For a long time, the peasants clung to their traditional beliefs, to their deities, above all to the Gallic Triss, the cult of Jupiter, Mercury, Apollo, their fana. And even when they were "converted", they returned again and again to the - much more beautiful, sirin-full - worship of trees, stones and springs. For centuries, synods practiced pagan customs, from the Council of Valence {i 4) until the q. century. Only between the Council of Orléans {y i i) and that of Paris (8aq) did the canons of at least iq Gallic bishops' councils continue to exist.

The peasants of the time rallied against the beliefs and practices of peasant paganism, which clung much more tenaciously to the tradition than the opporiunist nobility.

The Germanic tribes were characterized by a natural, so to speak, one that had not been talked up to, but rather had a natural way of life.

identical piety. They had a natural religion with distinctly pantheistic traits, characterized by the worship of forest, mountain, fountain, flood and sea gods, by the veneration of the sun, light, water, trees and stones, basically, as we should know today, a thousand times more meaningful than the Christian belief in spirits, in the wake of which a hype-trophic technocratic civilization has brought nature close to ruin.

The "Lexikon für Thcologie urtd Kirche" (Dictionary of Thcology a n d t h e Church)

-The religion of the Germanic peoples ii. a. their belief in fate, especially the belief in demons and ghosts {nowhere more extensive and crazy than in early Christianity: cf. 111 38q ff.!) But no, it was this Germanic belief in demons and ghosts that ultimately played -a major, oh tormenting and oppressive role- and, of all things, became -the source of the later witch craze! Christianity is innocent - it merely had to eliminate the consequences of the "source", the altlait, so to speak, had to hunt, torture and burn the evil witches ...

-DEMONSTRATIVE DESTRU1'4G ..."

During the Merovingian period, the power of the Christian god was often at the forefront of missionary work, on the one hand - w e l f a r e - and on the other hand the destruction of pagan places of worship. The images of the gods could easily be compromised - through punish)ous destruction - as powerless human beings, while the

-spiritual- Christian God was enthroned untouchably above the clouds. In addition, the pagan Franks were mostly tolerant and without a priestly caste, while they were opposed by a fanatical church organization that did not shrink back from coercive raids, even if it was content, at least initially, with a formal condemnation of the old faith and lip service to the new. R. W. Southern aptly describes the medieval

Europe was a forced community into which every person entered through baptism."

But that was not enough. The demolition of pagan temples and altars soon began.

Christians in Trier destroyed the large temple district in the Altbach valley as early as 33ö, presumably on the initiative of the local bishop, St. Maximin, and St. Athanasius, who was living in Trier at the time (1 8. ch.}. 5o Chapels with Norse gods, a theater for cult games and a Mithrashciligtum were razed to the ground. In Bonn, consecration altars of the Aufinian matrons were smashed. The extensive complex near Karden with the main temple of Mars was U4 * uinated. It was destroyed.
Lord a great temple at the source of the Seine, a temple
at Orléans (on the orders of Queen Radegunde, a Catholic
burned down) or, as early as the end of the3 . century, the Mithraeum of Mackwiller. And the more powerful one becomes, the more violent - -the demonstrative destruction
pagan places of worship has become a frequent feature of the history of conversion (Schieffer).'°

St. Gallus, uncle of St. Gregory of Tours, later Bishop of Clermont-Ferrand, once burned down a pagan temple near Cologne with all its "idols" as a priest and companion of Theuderich 1, the oldest son of Clovis, and was only saved from the fury of the peasants with great difficulty by the king.
-There were also martyrs' churches (Ocdiger) where **Gallus was enraged by the** high number of limbs and gifts of thanksgiving for healings and meals in the shrine. Perhaps this was not the least of the reasons for his anger. In choral singing, however, he - enchanted everyone who heard him-, v d -giänzte- a|s bishop "through all the virtues of a true supreme mastermind-, including that of "the gift of wounds- (feast: July x).-'

Around y§o, the deacon Wulfilaich persuaded the rustici in territorio Trevericac urbis, the peasants of the Trier region, to demolish a huge image of Diana (originally probably the Celtic goddess Arduinna), which the superstitious people worshipped idolatrously. He alone was too weak, so they helped him after

he had -unabldssig" complained to her, the will. -"Because the other pictures, which were smaller, I had already cut to pieces myself." No question that miracles also happened in the process."

Some of the most famous Christian saints were born in the Fight against paganism, arsonists and robbers.

In Tyrol, St. Vigilius, Bishop of Trento, worked "with zeal to spread Christianity" (Sparber), until one day in the Rendeia Valley he smashed a much venerated image of the gods standing on a craggy rock, a statue of Saturnus, and was stoned to death by the angry peasants, -v#rstocked and wild pagans- around Zoo - many dozens of churches are dedicated to him in Italy.

It was there on Monte Cassino that St. Benedict (g"- 543J, the "father of western monasticism", whose severity drove his ten monks and the priest Florenrinus to assassinate him, attacked the old Temple of Apollo, the last temple of Apollo mentioned in history. Benedict found pagans there, cut down their holy harue, smashed the image of the god, the altar and was named patron saint of Europe by Pope Paul VI in xp64."

In the Bregenz region, an Irishman, St. Columban the Younger (d. 6i y), and his monks eradicated the worship of the gods and, in return, directly or indirectly enriched the world with almost a hundred monasteries in the yth century. Century.

KoJumban had briefly traveled through Gaul, where -Christian life had almost disappeared and only the confession remained- (Jonas of Bobbio}, and then founded the Catholic propaganda mission") in the interior of the continent. The rigorous ascetic who demanded mortification {mortificatio), whose
-Regula monachorum, who threatened draconian punishments for even the slightest misconduct, was also a highly political figure. Promoted by Mecowingern and persecuted by Brunichild
{-a second Isabel-) as well as from -Theudereich, the dog-, but also in dispute with Burgundian bishops, he moves and flees on his -peregrinatio pro Dei amom" or -pro Christo-, working healing and punitive miracles,

always in the fight against the superstition of the saints (-Lafi corrupt their children") and the temples, which it
"to burn down- galt¡ still boasts in the zo. century the
-Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche- his - zeal". After the elimination of Theudcbcrt IL by Theuderich 6xz (S. zzy), Columban fled from the Catholic Merovingians to Italy under the protection of the Lombard king Agilulf, an Arian. However, he still provides help against floods and feline diseases and is considered the patron saint of Ireland. The Society of St. Columban, a missionary society founded in Dublin, is particularly active in China. And in Ireland itself, as is well known, Columban's "fervor" continues to this day.

One of his disciples, St. Gallus, assisted him and, driven from Burgundy, burned down temples and sacred groves on Lake Zurich and Lake Constance, hunting down idols in order to open up the path to the kingdom of heaven through Jesus Christ to the "pagan race sunk in filth". For his part, he was still at odds with Columban and separated from him forever - saints among saints. And long after his tomb had been repeatedly desecrated and many miraculous things had happened there, the temple desecrator rose to become a popular saint, the patron saint of St. Gall, the patron saint of fever patients and the patron saint of geese and chickens.

The later missionary bishop Amandus, the Apostle of Belgium and a confidant of Pope Martin I, who grew up in the monastery of Oye (near La Rochelle) and came from Aquirania, had very special spiritual luck (p. 3 z ff.). On a pilgrimage to Rome, St. Peter appeared to him personally. But even with heavenly help, things did not always work out. So, when the Good News was spread around Ghent, his propaganda base, Aman- dus obtained a royal order for forced ratification - apparently unique in the missionary history of the Merovingian period. Even "voluntarily", the Old Believers are said to have been converted by his miracles (including the raising of an executed man to life); although Amandus, like many of Luxeuil's followers, was not able to do so.

The baptism of pagans was less important to the monks than the consolidation of Christianity in the spirit of Rome.

In the north of Gaul, the industrious monk Jo- nas from Bobbio, a helper of Amandas, St. Vedastus, Audomar, Ursinar, Lupus and Eligius, the Bishop of Noyon, whose numerous miracles included his "horse operation", which particularly inspired Christianity. EJigius forked off the leg of a stubborn horse that he was supposed to shoe, conveniently fastened the horseshoe to the amboB and put the shank back on. Naturally, he became the patron saint of farriers, among other things. And even today, the - Eulogius Ride- at Lake Constance saint Pfcrdesegen goes back to him."

One of the most ferocious pagan invaders in the *West* was Mar- tin of Tours (ge-- i97l· Despite fierce resistance, sometimes from the peasants, *he* tore down temples with the help of his satellites, a horde of monks, overthrew druid stones and often defended sacred oaks. -With his feet he defended the altars and the gods.
pictures" (Sulpicius Severus). And yet the saint was "a man of admirable gentleness and patience; the friendliest serenity and unchanging peace shone from his eyes …- (Walterscheid, with imprimatur).

Of course, the hero of faith was ideally qualified to destroy paganism. After all, he had ended his career as a swashbuckler in the Roman army (Emperor Julian) and started his Christian career as a devil's exorcist. It is significant that he believed he saw the devil in the form of Jupiter, Mercury, Venus and Mi- nerva, as he was of the firm conviction that Satan was hidden in the "idols".

As a result of his "raising of the dead", Martin became a bishop, then Merovingian king, then Carolingian imperial saint, and finally patron saint of the French¡ 4-5 villages in Franconia still bear his name today. The name of an arsonist, a thief, who ruined the most holy things with the feet of the heathen and tore down all the temples - the symbol of the Frankish imperial church", and even more: "an essential component of Frankish imperial culture" (Bosl),

He owed his international fame to the murderer king Clovis, who venerated Martin; because of him, he even killed one of his own soldiers who had taken some revenge in the territory of the Gonesmann: -Where would our victories be if we were to swear allegiance to St. Martin? - The Moorish princes carried the legendary cloak (capa) of this man as a holy relic on their military campaigns. Oaths were sworn over it and contracts concluded. The place where it was kept was called Capella, the clergyman responsible for it Capella- nus: the origin of our Wörtef chapel and chaplain. And because Martin immediately built Christian churches on the ruins wherever he had destroyed pagan places of worship, including the first Gallic monastery (Ligugé), he also became the "pioneer of Western monasticism" (Viller/Rahner)."

The destruction of temples is attested to by many ecclesiastical sources, such as the cbcbcrcibcons of the Archbishop of Lyon, Landbcrt, the bishops Gaugerich of Cambrai, Eligius of Noyon, Lupus of Sens, Hugbert of Torigeiii and Louvain or the Abbot and Mis-

sion BishopAma "d "v"

Monasteries were often built on ruined temples, such as St. Bavo in Ghent, St. Medard in Cambrai, the Wulfilaich monastery in Eposium or Fleury-sur-Loire, which stood on the site of an old Gallic Druid sanctuary. The martyrdom built in the . The martyrdom of St. Vincentius of Agen, built in the . century, was apparently built over a pagan fanum. A large pagan necropolis was found under the church of St. Ursula in Cologne, where Irenaeus h a d often already burned Christianity."

Even if many temples are only closed during the waking hours, old doors

bIoB may have been removed, but the Church in Franconia, Saxony and Friesia burned or otherwise destroyed the pagan shrines, sacrificial sites were turned into cattle fonts, sacred bdu- mc fell, whereby especially in the Merovingian period the real martyr of the faith had "almost rarity value" (Graus). However, the further the conversion continued, the more ruthlessly the clergy was eradicated - even if our cathedral vicar Konrad Algermisscn

would like to make you believe that only in very few cases does it -The use of force; never, of course, the violent methods of Rome or the Church, but of Germanic princes". (The liar was the guiding word in all my explanations).

In addition, he already celebrated the Nazi state and its government in the *vo wO-** - *934!- with lin- primature, of course).

The state and the church jointly promote the spread of the new faith and the destruction of the old. Thus the Neustrian King Childebert 1. ordered in a constitution Anno iJ4.

-without doubt in agreement with the bishops- {A. Hauck):

-The pagan images of gods in the fields and the idols dedicated to the demons must be removed immediately, and no one may oppose the bishops if they destroy them.

In the next century, Pope Boniface V (6i cy) propagated Christianity in England and wrote to the King of the Angles, Edwin: "You must lay hands on those whom you have hitherto made gods for yourselves out of earthly material, you must smash them with all zeal and beat them into lines. -- And so the converted Northumbrian high priest Coifi soon hurls a lance into his own temple."

The Concilium Gcrmanicum, the first council to be convened in the Gcrman part of the Franconian region, was also held at .74s

added, -that the people of God do not do pagan things, but throw away and abhor all pagan unflar, whether it be sacrifices for the dead or divination, amulets or protective signs, incantations or oaths, which foolish men offer beside the churches in a pagan manner, invoking the holy Mar- tyrs and confessions, whereby they call down the wrath of God and the saints, and finally also those blasphemous fires which you call 'envy fy r'".*°

Any other faith is abhorrent, indeed simply intolerable, to the advocates of the "true", the only true and beatific faith. Thus the practice of pagan cults was

The law threatened them with severe punishments: expulsion from the land for a short or a lifetime, lawlessness and peacelessness, confiscation of property or, in the case of the poor, enslavement. The eating of "idolatrous food", pagan feasts, pagan dances or the keeping of idol images, which were also used - underground - as building material for Christian chapels, was strictly forbidden."

At the end of the 8th century. In the late 8th century, the "lndiculus super- stitionum et paganarum", intended for the pagan inhabitants of western Germania, lists thirty practices that had already been condemned by the Gallic councils: magic, witchcraft, divination, certain meals, dances, rites of the cult of the dead, sacrifices and fana to the genii of trees, stones, springs, festivals and sacrifices, especially in honour of Jupiter {Donar) and Mercurius (Odin)."

However, the political and military conditions for all these missionary measures had been created by the Franks under their first great leader, Clovis the Great.

z. CHAPTER

CHLODWIG, THE FOUNDER OF THE FRANKISH EMPIRE

• . one of the most outstanding figures in world history.
The historian Wilhelm von Giesebrecht'

-And t h e fact that he knew himself to be a Christian, and indeed a Catholic Christian, is certain and is repeatedly expressed in the individual acts of his government.

-Connected to the great unity of the family of the Catholic Church, without h a v i n g passed through a lrrrpcriodc arisniscf of the unu)tur, this vigorous and docile people [of the Franks) r e c e i v e d a lasting spiritual nearness that enabled them to achieve greatness.- Herrmann Grisar SJV

THE RISE OF THE MEROVINGIANS

The original home of the Franks, whose name was associated with terms such as "courageous", "bold" and "cheeky" in the early Middle Ages, was on the Lower Rhine. Their people, who had no unified leadership, probably emerged through the amalgamation of numerous small tribes between the Weser and the Rhine in the tenth and second centuries AD. They are first mentioned soon after the middle of the 3rd century, when they f o u g h t bitter battles with the Romans, which continued throughout the 4th and 4th centuries.

$. century. At that time, the right of the
Stroiris, the Franks sank the Roman Rhine line, over which some had probably already infiltrated the Anlicg region. They advanced on Xanten, which the Roman population around Ryo had evacuated and which had then been settled by the small Hancian tribe of the Chattuarians. They invaded the area between the Rhine and Moselle. They took Mainz and Cologne, which they made the center of an independent Frankish state, the Francia Rinensis, immediately to the left of the river when it was finally occupied around q6o. Gradually, they took over the land along the Moselle and as far as the Meuse. Trier was conquered by them four times in the first half of the . Trier was conquered four times in the first half of the .

It was reclaimed by the Romans each time until it remained Franconian for good at around 4 O. Its population fell from probably 6o ooo in the
4 to a few thousand in the 6th century.

The lnvssors founded French principalities in Belgium and northern France, each of which was subject to a regulus, a king. The whole of the Rheingau already **belonged** to

between Nijmegen and Mainz, the Meuse region around Maastricht and the Moselle valley from TouI to Koblenz became Francia Rinensis. The Romans allowed the Franks to settle on the condition that they provided them with military services as -foederati- (allies), and of all the Germanic tribes they were their most reliable companions in arms, although they usually tore themselves apart in fierce tribal feuds. Eventually, however, the Merovingians were born over the whole of Roman Gaul.

Roughly between the Somme and the Loire in the later . century, the part of the country still ruled by the Romans was almost completely surrounded by Germanic peoples. The Visigoths and Burgundians occupied the largest territories in the south and south-east, the Alemanni in the east and the Franks in the north, roughly between the Rhine and the Somme. But just as the Germanic tribes constricted the Romans, the Franks again constricted each other, small tribes that ruled over small kings, with very limited power not only spatially but also politically. These tribes were organized democratically, militarily and democratically, and their leaders still depended considerably on the will of the entire free people. The entirety of the Francis, the free bearers of arms, elevated the king and deposed him again when he no longer suited them.

One of the first halfway known of these petty kings is Chlodio (ca. 4ay - CO. 4ss), the leader of the Salfranks who advanced behind him from Toxan- dricn. At 4-y he conquered the Roman city of
Cambrai ann Obetlauf der Schclde, was severely defeated by Aëtius, the supreme Roman commander and de facto ruler in Gaul, at Arras in 43J *°^, and occupied the country as far as the Somme in 45y. Chlodio is the first reliably attested Merovingian. Merowech is said to have descended from his dynasty, probably a contemporary relative and ancestor of the dynasty named after him, one of the leading Frankish dynasties since the ¢th century. Century one of the leading Frankish princely dynasties. And soon the highly offensive Salians (in contrast to the rhcinian Frankish kings who ruled in Cologne, the lords of the Francis Rineiisis, the Mainz and Moselle provinces, Merowin-

ger in the agnatic sense) ruled Gaul for two centuries.

Merowech, the hero eponymos, according to legend conceived on the beach with a sea monster half monster, half bull (the bull's head plays a special role in the symbolism of the Merovingians), was the father of Childerich 1, a Frankish prince who ruled in Tournai. He was still under the supreme command of the Gallo-Roman commanders residing in Soissons - Aegidius, the come Paulus, Aegidius' son Syagrius - and had taken to the field against Visigoths, Saxons and Alans (or Alemanni?), but was already expanding his own power as a Roman foedcrat, fighting against Germanic tribes for a long time. Although he served loyally, his relationship with Syagrius (q6 q86), his "-rex Romano- rum" (Gregory of Tours), seems to have deteriorated as he himself became more powerful in the shadow of the Gallo-Roman military. On the other hand, Childeric, who probably last stood at the head of Belgica secunda, a province that was still formally Roman but fictitiously co-inherited by minor Frankish princes, maintained a good relationship with the Catholic Church of Gaul, with which the Franks on the Rhine and Somme were in early contact. For although Childerieh was not a Christian, indeed, according to Bishop Grtgor, he was so keen on the daughters of the Franks that he had to flee temporarily to Thuringia, he already gave immunity to churches and clergy and had good relations with the Belgian episcopate, especially around the Metropolitan of Reims.

Childeric died ¢8z. Almost woo years later, in i653, an Antwerp physician found his tomb near Tournai, by far the most well-equipped of more than 4o ooo Merovingian tombs uncovered by archaeologists. The king of Tournai had been buried in a richly decorated brocade robe at his residence, along with his horse, insignia, weapons and many gold and silver coins. z8jz (also) these tomb treasures disappeared due to a burglary in the Imperial Art Gallery in Paris. Sic transit gloria mundi.

COMETE RISE OF A SRAATSBANDIT

On Childerich's death q8z, his apparently only son, the sixteen-year-old Clovis I (q6Wyi i), became his successor; a frdnkish dwarf potentate among other such potentates, Ragnachar in Cambrai, for example (p. yy) or Chararich (p. 75), whose area of power is not known in detail. Clovis's father had prepared many things, but the son continued, completed so to speak. For the meteoric rise (Ewig) of this scurrilous, cunning peasant prince, with whom the -'pre-history of Germanism' (Löwe) begins, has been glorified by historiography for around one and a half millennia. But from an ethical point of view (also in a Christian sense), from the point of view of "human rights" (and Christian duties, which were already valid at that time, namely not to rob, not to murder), Clovis' career was nothing other than the meteoric rise of a gangster, a state and star bandit (so as not to compromise smaller gangsters with such a neighborhood).

Allied with various brother tribes, Clodwig extended the Salian kingdom around Tournai, which had been insignificant and limited to a small part of northern Gaul in the Belgica secunda, further and further across the provincial Roman territories to the left of the Rhine, first to the Seine, then to the Loire, then to the Garonne, whereby the Gallo-Romans came under the rule of the Franks. -Have the Franks as your friend, not as your neighbor", it was already said dairials.'

Such a bellicose people, who also had a reputation for loyalty, were attractive to the Christian clergy from an early stage. Arians, but especially Catholics, sought to win over its leader. For all the notable princes of the West were either Arians or pagans at the time. Clovis had barely become king in Tournai when he was approached by the Metropolitan of Reims, St. Remigius, a man "of high science", praised Bishop Gregory in the same

breath, and reviver of a Yote. However, Remigius's district was not in the land of Syagrius, whom Clovis then hunted down - apparently with the help of the Catholic bishops there. And Remigius already felt called upon to help the
-famous and meritorious Lord King Clovis- gray eminences, - advisors- who would be conducive to his "reputation". -Show yourself full of devotion to the bishops (sacerdotes) and always seek their advice, he writes to the prince, even before he is a Christian. -If you get along with them, your country will fare well.

86 or4 7 Ching unleashed Clovis against 8yagrius, formally the last representative of the Roman Empire there, but in fact already independent. Even before his father, the army commander Acgidius, Clovis' own father had conquered the Saxons and Visigoths.
btkämpferfr, but had apparently already taken up arms against Aegidius himself, just as Clovis had now done against his son. The timing was favorable: shortly before the Frankish raid, the mighty Visigothic king Euric had died, the king most feared by the Sal Franks in Gaul. His death must have encouraged Clodwig not a little. in alliance with his cousin, Regulus Ragnachar of Cambrai, he destroyed the last remnants of Roman power in Gaul at the Battle of Soissons. While the Franks, still "captivated by pagan superstition" (Gre- gor), were living in a bad way and had numerous churches plundered, Syagrius fled to Toulouse, the Visigothic capital. However, Clovis threatened the somewhat weak successor of Eurich with war, whereupon Alaric 11 handed over the fugitive, the victor
-hcimIich- killed, with the rest of the defeated enemy the
and made Soissons, previously the headquarters of Syagrius, his new residence.

This put an end to a history that had lasted for over a hundred years, robbed all the land as far as the Seine, and soon after the robber, the rex Prancorum, had somewhat consolidated his power, he was to continue his rampage. - From then on, he waged many wars and won many victories, boasts Bishop Gregory, just after he had given a broad account of a very personal murder by the king.

A **RED &LUT BATH AND** THE **FIRST DATE OF GERMAN CHURCH HISTORY**

Clovis soon moved from Soissons to Paris, which then became the most significant city, at least in the7 . It became the actual center of the Frankish empire, where most of the Frankish kings are buried. And around ¢q 3, when he had already advanced from the Seine to the Loire, he had become lord of the whole of northern Gaul and the immediate neighbor of the Visigoths (who, alongside the Burgundians ruled over southern Gaul), he, the indisputably first of all Frankish princes, became more and more interesting for the Catholics and they for him. He now married the young Burgundian princess Chlotilde, a daughter of the partial ruler Chilperich 11th and nothing of the chief king Gundobad, who, unlike her brothers, was Catholic and became a saint.'° Two saints, St. Avitus and St. Remigius, had probably already arranged this marriage. And since it was Catholic tactic to win over the Germanic princes and their people with their wives, it is quite possible that Chlotilde, the devout queen, had, as the chronicler says, "been in the king's ears since her wedding day" to accept the true faith, to renounce the idols, "**for they can be of** no **use to themselves or to others-, yes,** since they called Jupiter a "bastard" who had done it with his pig. But Clovis was not changed in any way. His tribe just didn't seem ready to convert yet

- until he finally went to war with the Alemanni. Finally, writes Gregory, because his community was almost always strengthened by catastrophes (of others). Only in the midst of a -violent bloodbath-', in which the united Salians and Rhine Franks slaughtered the pagan Alemanni, is he said to have been struck by -decisive grace- when his army had already given way and was almost destroyed, he is said to have cried out -with tears-: **-Jesus** Christ, you, of whom Chlotilde says that you are the son of the living God ... and when he said this, the alcmen turned and began to flee."

This is pure legend. Or more precisely: Catholic church history, reminiscent of the lies of the church fathers after Constantine's victory over his co-ruler Maxentius (I cent. f.). However, Clovis' conversion is evidently connected with the Alemannic War, with which he extended his predatory state to the Middle and Upper Rhine region, perhaps also subjecting eastern Rhine territory to his control.

The Alemanni (or Suebi), first named•• 3 b , had migrated from the Elbe region and were presumably brought here at the end of the a. century by various West Germanic armies and Viking tribes. The Alemanni were reinforced in the area around the Main; after all, their name means what everyone (if they know it) still hears today: all men. The Alemanni, who occupied the borders of the Roman Empire on the Rhine and the Limes, were in the year4 od, to the

part with the Vandals and Alans, to Gailia and Spain.

the rest. Their majority, however, had conquered the ElsaB, a large area of present-day Switzerland and the land between the Iller and Lech rivers."

As they tried to advance further northwest from there, they clashed with the Franks, especially with the Rhine Franks who dominated the Moselle region. These, already around

$ allied with the Burgundians against the A)emans, set

He was wounded in the knee around d9o in a battle near Cologne, where the petty king Sigibert was wounded (m- 74s. not clearly visible. Reason enough for Clovis to intervene: t ff* 49 497, the hitherto unknown Alemannic king remained on the battlefield at (the not exactly localized} Tolbiaciim, probably in the ElsaB. Clovis invaded Alemannia on the right bank of the Rhine and relinquished a large part of his remaining possessions.

pagan inhabitants. A decade later, around 5o6, they largely rose up again, but were again beaten up, perhaps near Strasbourg, with the Alemannic king again perishing in battle. Pursued by the Franks, they fled southwest to the Alpine foothills, into Raetia prima (province of Chur), Raetia secund ip c" z "g surg), (infiltration) territories of the Ostrogothic king Theodoric, who followed his

But the Alemanni came under the direct control of Clovis in southern Rheinhessen, in the Palatinate, in areas along the Main and Neckar rivers. And from there, the Franks advanced further east, as far as the Saale, the upper Main and almost to the Bavarian Forest."

It is not known for certain when Clovis was baptized. At the time, St. Chlotilde -secretly- called St. Bishop Remigius, who had already been baptized with Clovis when the Arians still held the bishopric.

-sharp spirit- of the king. And now she, the holy spouse, seeks through St. Remigius, writes St. Gregory,

-to bring the word of salvation to the king's heart'.

And since everything holy is found in this way, a kind of miracle finally happens again, as so often, -called all the people at the same time …: We leave the mortal gods, gracious king, and are ready to follow the immortal God whom Remigius proclaims.- Together with his sisters Lantechilde (an Aria- nian, but who now recognizes or at least confesses that the Son and the Holy Spirit are of the same essence as the Father) and Albofledis, who became a nun, and with allegedly 3ooo Franks, probably warriors, King Clovis was baptized in Reims with great pomp and in the presence of many bishops - Anno q6 or ¢9y according to the eirten, 4s d--qq according to the others, and

according to researchers who have analyzed the Alemannic War yo6 ansg>**' i<. i 7

or yo8 - -the first date in German church history-

(Kawerau). Significantly, it follows on from a great bloodbath and is one of the most important events of the early Middle Ages. Not because Clovis became a Christian, but because he became a Roman Catholic Christian, which determined the fate of the Franks and Europe; which led to a close connection with the papacy and the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation through the emperorship of Charles.

KING CH LODWIG AND 2WEI '- SAINT OF GOD "

Clovis' baptism was a grandiose celebration. The streets and churches were resplendent with decorations. The baptistery itself was filled with a heavenly fragrance, indeed, those present thought they had been transported to the fragrances of paradise. But the king, reports Gregory of Tours, walked as -a new Constantine-
- a strikingly apt comparison - - t o the dew-bath, to wash himself clean from the old leprosy and to cleanse himself in fresh water from the dirty stains he had had from time immemorial. And Remigius, -the saint of God-, addressed him -with an eloquent mouth- thus: -Bend your neck silently, Sicamber, worship what you have burned, burn what you have worshipped-- (adora quod incendisti, incende quod ad- orasti).

Who was this saint who so boldly called for persecution, as did his colleague **Avitus** at the time**?**

Reinigius, like most {not only) prelates of the time
--of noble descent, advanced to bishop of Reims at the age of zz. His older brother Principius was also bishop {of Soissons) and also a saint. (His remains are said to have been burned by the Calvinists *s 6 y*.) Remigius, the apostle of the Franks, preached Catholicism to pagans and Arians with fiery zeal, he virtually led -a radical criticism- (Schultze), whereby, according to a Council of Lyon, he -destroyed the altars of idols everywhere and powerfully spread the true faith with many signs and wonders"."

According to Gregory of Tours, Bishop Remigius baptized Clovis on Christmas qq6 in Reims. Allegedly, a dove brought an anointing oil sachet - a forgery that first appeared three and a half centuries later with the notorious Bishop Hinkmar of Reims, who claimed to have found the body of St. Reniigius still uncorrupted in 8yz. However, the miraculous anointing oil was kept in the Abbey of St. Remigius in Reims - among many locks - and was kept until the 8th century at the coronation of the French monarchs. Century at the coronation of the French kings, whereby the anointing oil,

another **miracle, never went out** - like the fraud in this religion.

Forgeries had been going on for a long time {III i., z. u. j. chap.). The letter from Pope Hormisdas appointing Remigius Vicar Apostolic for Gaul is also a forgery. And an alleged letter of congratulations from Pope Anastasius 11 (q6- g8) on the baptism of Clovis was also forged. The Roman had no great interest in the West, let alone in a Frankish peasant prince. Rather, he sought to end the Acacian Schism in the East, and was so eager for reconciliation - Dante sees the tomb of this pope in the -circle of heretics - that after his death, a counter-pope was set up, and battles broke out between the sceptics and the church (II 33 6 ff.). However, the most significant event of his pontificate, the worldgc- Pope Anastasius ignored the historical decision in the north, the beginning of the Catholic victory over Arianism, the Christian victory over Germanic paganism. This later bothered Abbc Jéróme Vignier, an oratorian who also stood out as a fanatic, to such an extent that he (somewhat belatedly) congratulated ChÍodwig in the name of Pope Anastasius - in the 7th century."

However, a letter of congratulations - unfortunately undated - sent by St. Avitus, the powerful Metropolis of Vienne (around dQO-j18), on ChÍodwig's baptism was genuine: -Your faith is our sicg-!

Avitus, - of Ade1" like Remigius, even related to Emperor Avitus, was the son of his predecessor, Archbishop lsichius of Vienne, and brother of Bishop Apolliriaris of Valence. Such triumphant, influential offices are usually held in the family i•g- 4P$ f.). Like the saints. Bishop Remigius and his brother Piincipius were saints. Likewise Bishop Avitus and his brother Apollinaris. And like Remigius, Avitus is also a Fanatiker (festival: y. February}. In **his** wonderful letters", St. Gregory enthuses, "he smashed heresy to the ground" - Eutychian and Pclagian heresy, but especially Arianism.

Alongside Lyon, the metropolis of Vienne was one of the most important suburbs of the Catholic Church in the Arian Burgundian kingdom (Zotz). Together with his holy brother Bishop Apollinaris (£est: October 5), Avitus worked doggedly for the conversion of this kingdom to Catholicism. The chief shepherd praised baptism to King Clovis as a means of consolidating the fortunes of war. Others, such as Bishop Nicetius **of Trier,** also a saint (feast: October i), later thought and wrote similarly. St. Avitus recommended Clovis - a major theme of the Middle Ages - the pagan mission as an expansion of power, he recommended war: -to scatter the seed of faith among the distant tribes-, -freshly and without timidity-; let the -soft baptismal garment multiply the power of rigid weapons!" Today, of course, people want to talk us into a peaceful mission of Avitus. A -weapons mission-' was just as -undesirable to him as an -anti-Aryan candle crick" *2Stzu-* bach). In reality, Archbishop Avitus acclaimed the Franken-
king in such a way - "Immortal fame was left to her by the evidence" - that the Burgundians, whose "quaiholization is indeed his main merit", later suspected him of infidelity."

Of course, the Catholic Clovis also converted his own, who were still pagans or Arians, so that ultimately the entire royal house of the Franks was Catholic. Consequently, a close alliance between kingship and episcopacy continued to exist" (Fleckenstein). Ecclesiastical princes occupy the most important position in Clovis' environment and have the greatest influence on him, especially Avitus and Remigius.

I "4Of course, *the* clergy received rich gifts from the Merovingian's spoils of war. He generously endowed the prelates with foundations and land grants. Even during the war, he sought to spare church property and church buildings as much as possible. In this way, Catholic agitation went beyond all measure. The fate of the king and that of Catholicism were straightforwardly identified, Clovis suggested the misery of the oh-so-oppressed Catholics, a life-and-death struggle against Arianism. And he "now felt himself to be God's chosen instrument and indulged all the more in his lust for conquest" (Cartellieri).

From now on, "kingship and church worked together for the further spread of Christeritism" (Schultze). On the one hand, the Frankish kingdom became the {-mainstay of Catholicism. On the other hand, Clovis secured the support of the Gallo-Roman clergy during his conquest of Gaul. This in turn protected his enormous wealth from the Arians and the lower classes. At the same time, however, he brought the Gallo-Roman people over to the side of the Franks. And if you consider that at that time Romans and non-Romans were less alien to each other than Arians and Catholics, it becomes understandable how attentively Catholic Gaul and especially its priests turned to the only Catholic Germanic king. The Catholics, says Gregory of Tours, eagerly d e s i r e d Frankish rule.

Of course, Clovis' conversion was motivated by political motives the rash, if, improbably enough, he had any at all. But throughout the centuries, the apologists claimed the opposite. Even the Bishop of Trier, Niceiius, the
-The "ornament of the Frankish episcopate", in 56}, attributes the king's conversion to Clovis' granddaughter Clodoswitith to the realization of the "truth", to the "correctness of Catholic doctrine". And still iq3q the Catholic theologian Algermissen claims that it was not coercion and -sword murder- but religious conviction that moved such a brave and clever Germanic hero as Clovis to reject his pagan madness and to freely accept the teachings of the Holy Father.'*.

In reality, Clovis' conversion was, according to current research, a political act, like that of Constantine. Unlike all the other Germanic peoples, the king and his people adopted Catholicism because this created a connection between the conqueror and the unconquered and yet-to-be-subjugated Gallo-Romans that the other Germanic kingdoms lacked f r o m the outset. Clovis, who had been devoted to the Church from the very beginning, became a Catholic in order to subjugate the Arian Germanic tribes and conquer neighboring Gaul with his

to win over a strong majority of Catholic Roma more easily.

With the help of the country's Catholic Church, he thus created the kingdom of the Franks, which from the beginning consisted of two halves, partly Gernian and partly Gallo-Roman. In the north, in their original places of residence, in Brabant, Flanders, ari Lower Rhine and Moselle, the mass of the conquerors, the (Salian} Franks, also sat after their conquests, while their empire, inheriting the legacy of Rome and its administration, extended over the predominantly Roman Gaul south of the Loire. (Today, the Frankish population between the Rhine and the Loire is estimated at ten percent, in the south at two percent, with perhaps five million people in Gaul as a whole). However, the influence of the Church on the Gallo-Roman population was great, and Catholicism was the best organized and most brutal form of Christianity. Clovis took advantage of this, just as Constantine once had. And of course he could never forget that there were still strong Arian states in the south: in Spain the Visigoths, who still occupied Narbonne¡ in Italy the Ostrogoths, who encroached on Provence." And finally, there were also the Arian Burgundians.

Ciironwics BuRCUHDER KRIEG (Zoo) - ^DAS GLÜCK OF THE REICH - U1'dD A H L. COUNTRY REPRESENTATIVE

It is disputed whether the Burgundians, an Osrgermanic people, originated from Bornholm, which still bore their name in the 3rd century. Century their name: Burgundarholm (Danish: Borghundarholm; an extension of the older Burgund, i.e. Bergland), or whether the island, which seemed too small as their original homeland, only served them as a stepping stone from Scandinavia to the southern mainland, '[2]

The Burgundians, who had already moved to Central Europe in pre-Christian times, migrated to the area between the Oder and Vistula rivers,

oppressed by Goths and Rugians, mm zoo to Lower Lusatia, inn 3rd century into the valley of the upper and middle Main and into the Odenwald. Torn away from the Main by the flood of the Alans, Suebcn and Wandałen in the year 4& , they were established as Roman focde- rates between Mainz and Worms {Borbetomagus) without moving any further with these tribes. @I3 İTheir king Gundahar {Gunther) is proven to be the foederate king ba*-435 they invade GalÍia. Two years later they overrun the Huns what remained east of the Rhine. And what then was not wiped out by the Burgundian empire of Worms - allegedly ao oco people, the historical background of the Ni- belurigenlied -, settled as federates of the Romans, who used sic against the Alemanni, in the Sapaudia (Savoy), especially around Lake Geneva, from where sic moved down the Rhòneral and north almost to the upper Seine."

From the middle of the 5th century, the territory of Burgundy expanded rapidly and eventually extended from the upper reaches of the Loire to the Rhine, from Provence to Langres in the north. The capital was Lyon from around 46i under King Guiidiok (Gundowech}. y63 he became magister mi- litium per Gallias, Roman army master, wic then his younger brother Chilperich I, who apparently only led the Burgundians with him, but alone after Gundiok's death (4 yo). About a decade Later, Gundiok's four sons ruled: Guridobad as chief ruler princeps) in Lyon, Godegiseł in Geneva, the other two brothers, Chilperich II, the father of h1. Chlotilde, and Godomar, probably in Valence and Vienne."

The Burgundians were probably first introduced to Christianity by the Visigoths migrating up the Danube towards the end of the4- century. In the form of Arianism, they brought it to many easily to the Rhine. The fact that they were Christians - in some form or other - at that time (Schmidt) is clear from the Song of the Nibelungs. Gradually, however, they turned to Catholicism. Even King Gundiok, although an Arian, is described4 3 By Pope Hila- rius - the cinstic deacon at the "Robbers' Synod" of Ephesus (Il zzo If.) wrote as a pope almost exclusively to Western addressees

i *97) - called -fi1ius noster-. And Gundiok's son Gundobad (d8o-$z6), after waging war against his three brothers (Chilperich and his family, except for two
Daughters, a future saint and a future nun, were murdered), ats AÍlcin ruler more and more under the influence of the Catholic Church, especially St. Avitus, without, of course, t a k i n g the final step."

The short-lived kingdom of the Burgundians - according to current research -5om warriors and z5 ooo souls (Beck} - day south of the Franks, in the Jura region between the Rhóne, Saóne and the Alps. When Clovis invaded Anno Roo, he was probably motivated less by the RaehegeÍüste of St. Chlorilde than by the Rhön region and the Alpine passes of Hochburgund, which were very important for transportation. However, the Catholic Church, on which the king relied heavily, seems to have helped orchestrate this war, both that of the Franks and that of Burgundy. After all, "in these regions", according to H1. Gregory, -the reputation of the terrible power of the Franks, and they longed to be under their rule'-l

Gundobad himself accused the Catholic bishops of Burgundy, at that time zi, of having betrayed their own king, Avitus of Vienne, to their spire, although their doctrine of authority forbade this and Gundobad was very benevolent towards the Catholics. Incited by Clovis, Gundobad's brother Godegisel, the Unrerkiinig of Geneva and caring uncle of Clovis' wife Chlotilde, also went over to the Franks, to whom he promised annual tribute and the surrender of unspecified territories. -Thanks to this betrayal, the allies defeated Gundobad in the Battle of the Ouche near Castrum Divionensc (Dijon), who, badly beaten, was only just able to escape to the fortress of Avenio (Avi- gnon), where Clovis was defeated by its walls. He ravaged the fields, filled the olive groves, destroyed the vineyards and the harvest, while Godegisel triumphantly marched into Vienne.

However, after the Franks withdrew, Gundobad, with

He regained the upper hand with the help of the Visigoths under Filaric II. In Vienne, he imprisoned his brother and stabbed him to death with his own hand in an Arian church where he had sought asylum, together with an Arian bishop. He cruelly tortured his followers to death. And since another of Gundobad's brothers, Chil- perich, the father of St. Chlotilde, had already passed away (according to disputed Frankish sources, he and his wife were also murdered by Gundobad) and had become an al- line ruler, St. Avitus, who sought to make Burgundy Catholic for the rest of his life, was at least able to write: -It was the fortune of the kingdom that the number of royal persons diminished; as many alone remained in the world as were sufficient for the reign. What was in favor of Catholic truth was reinstated there.

lu Geneva, Godegisel was now replaced by Gundobad's son Sigismund, who had become Catholic between q9d and '99 through Avitus. And the assassination of the royal brothers, of whom Godegisel held the Catholics in particularly high esteem and had even founded a nunnery in Lyon, was seen by the Holy Prince of the Church as a good thing.

justified, since only the Catholic, the future saint and future murderer Sigismund (p. 83 f.), and the murderer Gunbad were still alive, who no longer significantly hindered the victory of Catholicism."

But Archbishop Avitus did not let up. Although, on the one hand, he saw from the signs of gloom that the end of the world was almost imminent, as Pope Gregory later said.

-the GrOB-- t7 chap.), he is constantly preoccupied with the politics of the day.

tics, and this will be no different with Gregory. In letters and conversations, Avitus repeatedly insists on the friar, who already sympathized with various Catholic prelates, such as Stephen of Lyon, Sidonius Apollinaris and St. Epiphanius of Pavia. Catholics were also already living in the king's immediate vicinity. Indeed, like Chilperich I and II, he himself was married to a Catholic (the latter to Caratenc, the mother of Chlotilde). But although Avitus tried at every opportunity to bring Gundobad to the -true faith

and "sought to put an end to the Arian heresy, the king persevered in his folly until the end of his life" (Gregory of Tours), no matter how much he enjoyed reading the Bible and how spiritually sick he was. "Do I not confess the law of God?" he countered the Catholic zealot oppressing him. -But because I do not want three gods, you say, I do not confess the divine law. In the Holy Step I have read only of One God." - Not even a feigned miracle led to success: in the Easter Vigil Gundobad's palace was destroyed. "incinerated by a flash of lightning ... But the holy bishop ... implored God's mercy with tears and sighs ... and the stream of his flowing tears extinguished the fire'.

It only took a few years for the war against the Visigoths, long the first and most powerful of all Germanic peoples in Gaul and therefore Clovis' main object of attack for some time, to reach its actual goal.

THE WEST GOT£N

The East Germanic tribe of the Visigoths **had** already separated from the Ostrogoths early on, still on the River **Dnieper.** They were finally completely wiped out in a horrific twenty-year war by the Catholic Emperor Justinian 1, not without the energetic support of the Pope and the ejting(räuliche Gottesmutter-, who acted as -strategic advisor- (II 4zq ff.). The Visigoths were on the Danube
become Arian Christians and then in decades of
raids through the northern Greek provinces of the empire, through lllyria and ltaly (14 oy ff., II zi ff.). After the death of their **king** Alaric -' 4*o buried near Cosenza in the Busento, they turned under his brother-in-law and successor Athaulf
4-z to Gaul and fiß ** 4*s, by a Roman army be-
over the Pyrenees into Spain. In the summer, the

Fithaulf's children from his first marriage fell victim to his Catholic successor Sigeric before he himself was killed after just one week. And his successor Wallia againl4*1 qr8) initially had every Visigoth killed.
whom he also believed to be entitled to the throne. Then decimated he fought protracted battles on behalf of the emperor against the Vandals, Suebi and Alans, who had invaded Spain. Some of the Vandals, the Silingen, and the Alans were almost completely annihilated in the process. Afterwards, the Visigoths, recalled from Spain, settled largely independently in southwestern Gaul with the royal seat of Toulouse."

There were also zealous Christians among the Visigoths, such as King Theoderic II (Ty3-q66), who attended early mass every day, even at dawn, but also murdered his older brother Thorismund q53, the first and only one in the violent history of Gothic kings who was capable of premeditated fratricide out of sheer greed for power (Giesecke). Theoderic fought above all against the Suebi, who had been living in the mountains of what is now Portugal for half a century and had only recently become Catholics. There were apparently fierce battles, and in October d56 Theodoric defeated the Suebi king Rechiar, a Catholic, his brother-in-law. He was executed in December, Catholicism was completely destroyed and the Suebi people remained Arian for over a hundred years.

But just as Theodoric II had murdered his brother Thomismund in the struggle for the throne, he himself fell ¢66 at the hands of his brother Euric, the actual founder of the Visigothic kingdom, which existed longer than all the Ostrogothic states, until7* 7*3. When the
Arabs put an end to it."

The Visigoths repeatedly quarreled with the numerically far superior Romans, less because of the large land cessions, because of ethnic disregard for the Roman "barbarians", than for religious reasons. Although the Gothic kings generally recognized religious freedom in principle, they were opposed to both Catholicism and the Romans.

They are usually extremely tolerant of harsh scenes. But they had to deal with a fundamentally intolerant, aggressive church obsessed with proselytizing fanaticism, with the Catholic clergy, too, who were constantly collaborating with the enemies of the Arians."

Eurich { >4*4) became the most important prince of his people and ultimately even the most powerful king of his time. He extended the Visigothic kingdom northwards as far as the Loire. while it reached from the southeast to the mouth of the Rhone. Eurich was also a convinced Arian, indeed, allegedly such a staunch enemy of Catholics that he would have been reluctant to even utter the word "Catholic". Arian priests were always part of his closest circle, including his table.

The king left Catholic parishes and bishoprics vacant for a long time. Churches fell into disrepair and decay. Sidonius Apollinaris, Clrmont's chief rector, complains: -You can see -it is to weep! - how herds of cows not only lie in the half-open porches, but also graze on the weed-covered sides of the green aliàreas." However, Sidonius himself was allowed to return to his chair after a short banishment (which, incidentally, remained in the family, his son Apollinaris pushed him back in: IU yoo). Enrich was in fact very supportive of the Catholics and even maintained good relations with several bishops."

The king resided in Toulouse (Tolosa). From there, his generals advanced both to the north and to Spain, fighting against Bretons, Franks, Burgundians, Negroes, the Roman troops of the come Paulus and emperors from Italy, as well as against the Suevi. In Gaul, in a hard fight against the nobility and Catholic prelates, they pushed the border as far as the Loire, Saone, Rhone and, SCİt477. as far as Provence. In some places, the Catholic chief shepherds leading the resistance, Bishop Sidonius, for example, who, together with his brother-in-law Ecdicius, even defended Clermont for years during his advance against the Auvergne. And in no less fierce battles, the Goths conquered

Spain, besieging some cities for years. In the peace treaty of 47, the Roman emperor Nepos r e c o g n i z e d King Eurich as the sovereign ruler of the territories he had conquered on the Pyrenean peninsula."

In the Great Empire of Toulous- i4* -5°y), whose diplomatic relations under Eurich extended as far as the Persian Sassanids, the Visigoths made up at most two percent of the population.

reformation. As a result, they were unable to withstand the constant pressure from the Merovingians in the north: Clovis sought access to the Mediterranean coast.

THE QuAyEg G EGEN THE WEST GODS

Eurich's son Alaric II (y84*5w), husband of Theodoric's second daughter, Thiudigotha, seems to have suspected nothing good. fiIf he saw, reports Gregory of Tours, that King Clovis was warring against and subjugating the nations without support, he sent envoys to him and said: -If it pleases my brother, it would be the wish of my heart that we should meet once, God willing.'- The two potentates met around yox on an island in the Loire near Amboise, apparently on the border between their kingdoms, -talked, a8ened and drank with each other, vowed friendship and then parted in peace.'[2] But Alaric II was an Arian. And although the Arian Visigoth kings allowed the Catholics to hold synods, found monasteries, build and restore churches, although Alaric himself had Catholic ministers and patronized Catholic bishops, the bishops in particular had long found it very painful to be subjects of a king of a different faith, a king of a different religion.

-godless princes" tnefarius princeps) - -many in all 8zIlian lands already wished with all their hearts to have the Franks as their lords (Gregory of Tours).

The Catholic episcopate of Gaul, which was mostly made up of members of the Roman senatorial aristocracy, oriented itself as a

soon to Clovis, the only Catholic Germanic king, especially since he also wrote to the bishops that the Church should not be harmed by the war between the Franks and the Germans."

Various ptälateo also led cities and entire territories politically, organized the defence and negotiated with the enemy. This is attested, for example, for the year q5i by Anianus of Orléans and Lupus of Troyes. And, of course, bishops of the Visigothic territories sym- pathized with the Franks long before the start of the war o7, they "sided with the new rulers even before the Frankish attack and secured their support in the country very early on" (Bleiber).

Bishop Volusianus of Tours, a member of the senatorial Gallic nobility, probably facilitated Clovis' conquest of ToUrs. Al5 8S496 Alaric II recaptured the city, the bishop was found guilty of treason and exiled

- "taken to Spain like a prisoner" (Gregory of Tours). His successor Verus was also forced into exile for conspiring with the Franks before the decisive battle between Clovis and Alaric. Likewise Caesarius of Arles, of whom the old Catholic church lexicon by Wetzer-Melte assures us: -His life was holy." Exactly, exactly! Bishop Caesarius was found guilty three times of having treasonous relations with the country's Feirid and was accordingly exiled or imprisoned three times. The first time he was sent to Bordeaux at yo5, the second time he was put behind bars on accusations -of Jews and Arians- (Wetzer/Welte), the third and last time he was -also now certainly not without reason- (Schmidt) - yi3 sent under military cover to Ravenna, where he only escaped punishment as a result of the intercession of Bishop Ennodtus of Pavia alone. Quintianus, chief shepherd of Rodez, who was under the same suspicion {although he owed Alaric his bishopric!), fled -by night- to the Frankish kingdom. In Arvern (Clermont), the -man of God- was given houses, fields and vineyards by Bishop Eufrasius danti. Because: -The fortune of our Kifche, he said, is great8 enough ---

At the Synod of Agde (yo6), presided over by Caesarius of Arles ("His life was sacred"), the Catholic pastors had assured King Alaric 11 of their devotion and, as the acts of the council record, prayed to the Lord with their knees bent to the ground for his reign, for long life and for the people. However, the same Gxlactortus, Bishop of Bé-Arn, who had prayed for King Alaric in Agde and signed the pledge of allegiance, immediately led an armed mob to openly support Clovis' army. However, he was intercepted before the decisive battle, defeated and executed - and as a "martyr" saint of the church!"

The undisguised sympathy of the bishops of his nearest sacrifice naturally benefited Clovis greatly. Anno yo;r he concluded an alliance with the Burgundians and then opened with the declaration: -I am very concerned that these Arians still possess such a beautiful part of Gaul. With Gotre's help, let us conquer the land - in the spring, in breach of the peace concluded with you, he waged war against the ill-prepared Visigoths. He was supported by the Rhine Franks under the leadership of Chloderich, the son of King Sigibert of Cologne, the Lame, as well as the Burgundians, who often only joined in after the decisive battle. Even the Catholic Byzantines were favorable to the Catholic French king. The demonstrative appearance of a fleet of zoo ships in southern Italy, where the emperors were plundering the coasts of Apulia and Calabria, prevented the Arian Ostrogoth king Theodoric from joining them in time.

A series of severe massacres took place - -under the sign of St. Martin and St. Hilarius-, the two -fighters against Arianisrnus-, the -teachers of the Gallic episcopate",
"Patrons of the Frankish Empire - (Eternal). For Clovis, who placed the churches and the clergy under his special protection, did not fail to give the war, which he waged in order to satisfy his thirst for plunder and power far more than for religious reasons, the character of a holy battle, a religious war.

He was the first bishop of Clermont during the Second World War to liberate the oh-so-oppressed Catholic hierarchy, which naturally welcomed him with open arms, often opening the city gates to him, if not even initiating the fight itself, like the son and successor of Sidonius Apollinaris, Bishop Apollinaris. As bishop between Hfld47* 474 , his father had already led the defense of Clermont against the
Visigoths, the episcopal son now led his own
Diocesans into battle, whereby "a great number of the people of Arvem perished", as St. Gregory proudly reports; "among them fell the most distinguished senators."

On the Catholic side, this war is (not only) contested
The war has the character of a religious war.
" q6 Clovis had defeated the Alemanni.5•7 he overcame the arianii Visigoths-, writes cathedral vicar Algermissen, in order to continue into the g. century after leading a long series of frdnkish predatory wars. century: -All these moves were
These were secular campaigns of conquest, which were a matter of course for peoples in ancient times, not religious wars. There is no need to mention that there was also 'sword murder' in the process - of course, that happens in passing - but this bloodshed was not against an old or for a new religion. The spread of Christianity was not carried out by the Frankish war leaders, who certainly did not harbor a missionary instinct . . .- ^'

Clovis perhaps not really. But at least the bishops made use of him and many, many other Christian heroes, and indirectly and directly attacked and stopped the princes. And how does Bishop Gregory present the situation? The Merovingian ordered that in the region of Tours - out of reverence for St. Martin - no one was allowed to take anything but forage grass and water. And when one of his swashbucklers does take some Hen there, the king strikes him down with his sword faster than the word escapes his lips, saying: 'How are we to win if we anger St. Martin? The once-more murderer then hopes for a sign of victory in that "holy temple" of Tours and promptly receives it.

He continues to pray at night at the Viennefiug, and in the morning - by God's command - a doe of marvelous size shows him a ford for his daughters. Outside Poitiers, a fcucrglow shines from the church of St. Hilarius, so that the king "all the more relentlessly, led by the light of the holy confessor Hilaiius, fights down the heretical crowds against whom he so often fought for the faith".

"plundering, robbing. Further miracles and many other miracles also happen". And then finally Catholic love, love of neighbor, love of enemy comes into full action; it comes to - sword murder- …"

The military campaign - "a religious war" (Pontal) and also proclaimed "a religious war" (Ewig) - cost Alaric II his life in the very first battle near today's VouillÜ b7 km northwest of Poitiers), deep in the Visigothic Empire, according to Gregory by Clovis' own hand. tlnd everything took place under such un-

The Merovingian soldiers were known to ravage their own country more than the conquered one. -However, the Merovingian soldiery was known to rage no less in their own country than in the conquered one: fields, houses, churches were ruthlessly devastated, plundered, burned, clergy and laity massacred at the altar.""

The sick penetrated deep into the heart of the West Gorcian Empire, as far as the Garonne. They took Bordeaux, where Clovis had survived, and, in the spring of 5o8, together with the Burgundians who had joined the kingdom shortly before, the Visigothic royal city of Toulouse. Here they seized the entire royal treasure, -Thesau- rus Alarici- (Fredegar), as the first Alaric had founded it a century earlier by **conquering** Rometc¡ one robber robs the other, the game of great politics - to this day. A royal treasure was of course almost as important for Gerinan princes at that time as rule over a people, as they could only remunerate their followers by means of protection, ergo they could only rule in this way. Clovis let Toulouse go up in flames and then miraculously conquered Angouleme**.** For: -The Lord showed him such mercy there that the walls, when he had them

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Clovis then separated from the Burgundians again and moved northwards, but did not fail to cede a part of the great booty to St. Martin, his "helper in victory", in Tours - finer said, with Gregory: -he consecrated many gifts to the holy church of St. Martin, as he, with Fredegar, -with their help had apparently accomplished all this . In addition, he was appointed honorary consul in Tours by a legation of the Byzantine emperor Anastasios, as a decided mono- physite an evil -heretic-- 3>4¡ ff.,345 .). But went and goes

statecraft has always been about religion, has always been and still is about

Religious politics over religion. The honorary consulship was a distinction with a clear political background, as it was awarded to the scinerzcic vekernentesren Ancipodcn of both the Festa and Ostrogoths. Clovis then demonstrated his quasi-imperial rank in the church of St. Martin, wrapped himself in a vestis regia, a purple robe, placed a diadem, also sent by the emperor, around his criminal head and is said to have worn it ever since.

Augustus - like an emperor".

But now the Ostrogoth Theodoric intervened in favor of the Visigothic brothers. His commander Ibba stopped in the year §o8 Franks and Burgundians. Arles was liberated, Narbonne Joq regained, jo ooo Franks are said to have fallen, according to lorda nes, The Burgundians lost almost all the conquests they had made at the expense of the Visigoths. And the Visigoths, who lost Aquitaine, retained only Septimania {also called Gotia), the Mediterranean coast southwest of the mouth of the Rhone with the royal seat of Narboiirie. Their state relocated itself-an age later-with Barcelona as its residence mainly to Spain, the southern part of which was overrun by the Moors in the early 8th century (p. 3oa f.). The Ostrogoths, on the other hand, won hard territories. Even more so the Franks, whose kingdom extended from the Rhine to Provence, even if their conquest of northern Gaul w a s never legalized by treaty.

The real winner, however, was the Catholic Church.

Even during the war, Clovis had repeatedly bestowed rich gifts on St. Martin's monastery in Tours and strictly protected the entire surrounding area from plundering. And after the war, the Catholic clergy, who hailed Clovis' victories as liberation from decades of heretical rule, received the king's thanks. Shortly before his death, he summoned the bishops 5i i to Orléans for the first Frankish imperial synod. It ordered the removal of the Arian churches and their use for Catholic worship. The king also gave lands belonging to the "heretics" to the Catholic churches or at least allowed them to use them. Indeed, he even exempted some from state burdens and generally assured the Catholic clergy of his special protection.

However, he ruled the Frankish premiums in much the same way as Emperor Constantine once ruled the church of his time. In a letter from the synodal members placed at the top of the files, they addressed "their Lord, the son of the Catholic C h u r c h , Clovis, the glorious King", spoke of the "consensus of the King and Lord" and requested the "confirmation of the episcopal decisions with higher authority"."

WE HAVE TO FREE OURSELVES OF MO RALISTIC VALUEU2'4G OF HISTORY

After Clovis had won the war against the Visigoths with the help of the Rhine Franks, in the last years of his life, between yoq and y i i, he tricked them into becoming king - if this had not already happened around J9o. In any case, he forced the unification of the Rhine Frankish tribes with the Salian Franks.

First, he instigated Clovis, the son of King Sigibert of Cologne, to commit patricide. "Here, behold, your father has grown old and is limping on a crippled leg … – Sigibert - 'the lame', Clovis' old comrade-in-arms, had been limping since the battle

of Tolbiacum against the Alemanni, in which he had been wounded (p. }). The prince disposed of his father in the Boconia silva, the 8uchenwald, by hired assassins; Clovis wished to have the Var murderer killed by a delegation and had his skull split open by the same delegation - the German historian Ewig calls this elegant, too elegant. After such a double act, Clovis hurried to Sigibert's residence city of Cologne, solemnly proclaimed his innocence of both murders and, acclaimed by the people, took over the Francia Rinen- sis, Sigibert's kingdom and treasures (Gregory).

The ruler then sought out the Salian petty kings related to him, such as the king of the Tongrians, Chararich, who had not fought against Syagrius. Clovis captured him and his son "with cunning", first had them put in a monastery, had them sheared (a sign of the loss of kingship), had Chararich ordained as a presbyter, his son as a deacon, then beheaded, and, see above, took possession of their protection and kingdom.

Another relative, his biological father, King Ragriachar of Cambrai had defeated Clovis after he had brought his entourage (fendes: this can mean all of the king's subjects as well as those closer to him) to his side with a quantity of gold, which was admittedly false. After the battle, he mocked the bound Ragnachar, who had helped him in the war against Syagrius in ¢86: "Why did you humiliate our blood like this and allow yourself to be put in chains? You would have died better- - and split his skull open with an axe. The king's brother Richar had also been seized.

"If you had stood by your brother, we would not have bound him," said Clovis and killed him with the next blow. -But the aforementioned kings were Clovis' close blood relatives {Gregory of Tours). And he also had their brother Rignomer liquidated near Le Mans.

"Clovis expanded his position in the Frankish realm as a whole-, fafit the foregoing again Historikcr Ewig.** This expansion of Clovis' position in the Frankish realm as a whole apparently involved several dozen Frankish

The tyrant had them murdered. The tyrant had them murdered, stole their lands and their wealth, not without complaining that he was all alone. -"Alas, that I now stand like a stranger among strangers and that none of my relatives can help me if misfortune should come upon me! But he did not say this because he was worried about their deaths, but out of cunning, to see if there might be someone else he could kill." Thus St. Gregory, for whom Clovis is his new "constant"; he virtually embodies his ideal of a ruler (Bodmer), indeed, he often appears to him almost as a saint (Fischer). The famous bishop writes again without shame: -"But God cast down his enemies before him day after day and increased his kingdom because he walked before him with a right heart and did what was pleasing in his eyes." Which, as the context shows, also refers to Clovis' murder of his relatives. All highly noble - and highly criminal."

This is the primus rex Francorum (Lex Salica), the king,
who lived up to the words of St. Remigius in his deed: worship what you have burned, burn what you have worshipped.
{p. i7l This the Catholic, who no longer carries anything pagan with him
who almost burst with hypertrophic brutality and rapacity, cautious and cowardly towards the stronger, but mercilessly massacring all the weaker¡, who gave no quarter to malice and cruelty, who waged all his wars in the name of the Christian Catholic God¡, who combined war, murder and piety as sovereignly as rarely anyone else, but as a good Catholic, who began his -Christian kingship with full intent on xy. December", who built churches everywhere with his spoils, endowed them, prayed in them, who was a great admirer of St. Martin, waged his "heretic wars" in Gaul against the Arians - under the sign of an intensified veneration of St. Peter" (K. Hauck), to whom the bishops at the National Council of Orléans (5 x i) praised a - truly priestly soul (Daniel-Rops}. A man who, while listening t o Jesus' Passion, is said to have declared that if he had been there with his Franks, he would h a v e avenged the injustice done to him; with which, according to

the old chronicler, proved to be a "true Christian" (christianum se verum esse adfirmat: Fredegar). As theologian Aland also says today: -And that he chose to be a Christian, and indeed a Catholic Christian, is certain and is repeatedly expressed in the individual actions of his reign.- In short, this man, who paved his way to Frankish autocracy, as Angenendt vividly quotes, "with an axe, was no longer a mere army king, but, precisely thanks to his alliance with the Catholic Church, -stell representative of Gortes on earth- (Wolf). A man who, together with his St. Chloe, finally found the final resting place he deserved in the Church of the Apostles in Paris, built by him and later called Sainte-Gcnevieve, after he had died at the age of just over forty: a ruthlessly devious great conqueror on the throne, according to the historian Bosl: -a ßarbarian who civilized and cultivated himself ... - When, where, how?

Theologian Aland quite rightly calls Clovis related to Constantine (I. ch. 3), somewhat euphemistically calls both of them power mongers, tyrant rulers, and justifiably says: "Such harsh times could only be mastered by such men." But did the harsh times make the harsh men? Or the rougher men the rougher times? The two are very much connected. And AuguStin has already corrected the bor- nized bczichrigen of the times: -We are the times¡ as we are, so are the times - (I yö f.).

Aland wants to leave open the question of whether Constantine and Clovis were Christians. - For the sons of Constantine, as well as Theodosius, rulers of whom there can be no doubt that they were Christians, committed comparable acts of bloodshed. We must free ourselves from such moralistic evaluations of history if we want to understand them at all. After all, who of us, whose people now have i 5oo years of history under the sign of Christianity behind them, wants to say of themselves: I am a Christian? After all, Luther speaks of Christianity, which is always in becoming, never in being."

The Merovingian chroniclers glorified Clovis for two reasons in particular: his baptism and his many wars. And this is precisely what his fame in world history is based on. He became a Catholic and knocked down and robbed everything around him that he could knock down and rob. 5o he created a mighty Germanic-Catholic empire out of an insignificant part- principality, he became the conqueror of the covenant of throne and altar in the Frankish Empire, he quite obviously became the chosen instrument of God, who, after all, cast down his enemies before him every day, as St. Bishop boasted, -because he walked before him with a right heart and did what was pleasing in his eyes".

As long as one looks at history in this way, as long as one refrains from its -moraIistic- evaluation, as long as the vast majority of historians lie prostrate before such hyperrrophic, world-historical beasts and all their offspring, full of respect, awe, admiration, but at least full of understanding, always deeper insight - one does not want to or should or may not -moralize-, but one wants to

-Understanding", in other words: crawling up the ass of the powerful - that's how long history will continue as it is.

3. CHAPTER

THE CLODWIG SONS

-The new successors of the first French king
Church and Cullus: the ministry e n i f a l i e d …, the remnants of paganism were fought withwacl cndcr energy ... The tasks incumbent on C a t h o l i c i s m according to ancient Christian lore, safeguarding the inner order
and rewarding the good and punishing the bad, became constitutive elements of an evolving mrcchcrethics . . .
H. H. Amon'

°It was a tough/routine society that b u i l t up this new '\X/em, enthusiastic and carefree, but caught up in a quick marerialism that had destroyed the world of Rome - Ksrholik firsnz Zxch'

Clovis' kingdom, divided almost aequa lance, fell first to his four sons: all equally -kings of the Prankcn-; all, according to the Germanic rule of inheritance, equal heirs; all Catholic; and all, except Theuderich I, the eldest, whom Clovis

* 48a i* a KOnkubinc grzeugr (which played no roJle, ds uur the royal blood of the father decided), with a saint as mother. But all brought their lives with cruel murder-

with feuds and campaigns. In the time-honored tradition of the father, they systematically expanded the empire. They conquered Thuringia (5 jr), Burgundy {s33 J i'), Provence {33y). In addition to the aforementioned annexations, there were numerous other ßeiite moves - an unusually confused period, one of the darkest, bloodiest

The most debauched and brutal epochs of history, full of fratricide, fratricidal war and betrayal, a single scramble for power and wealth (Buchner), nothing but senseless looting and slaughter (Schulze).

Yet even critical historians are likely to fall to their knees before the "founding of the empire" of the Merovingians* before their bridge-building -from antiquity to the Middle Ages, their victorious position towards -Catholic Christianity-, the conclusion of the covenant

-Between throne and altar" - as if all that hadn't m a d e the story even more bloodthirsty!

The borders of the four parts of the empire are not precisely defined.

We are still best acquainted with Theuderich I. The heir (DII-j33l- The Hugdietrich of legend received the lion's share with the capital Reims; an area in which the later

Austrasia, with its predominantly Germanic population, was rudimentary: the entire east, from Burgundy to the Rhineland, perhaps even as far as the area of FritZlar and Kassel; also large, formerly Alemannic territories and eastern Aquitaine. Each son received a share of the Aquitaine lands south of the Loire that had been stolen by his father; three of these were, of course, exclaves.

Clotar I (5i i- 6i), Clovis's youngest son, perhaps not yet o f the Salian age of majority, took over the territory of the Salian Franks with the royal cities of Tournai and Cambrai, i.e. the old Frankish territory between the Channel coast, the Somme and the Coal Forest within roughly the same borders as it had before his father's raids. Chlotar chose 5oissons, in the far south, as his seat of power. Southern and western Francia fell to Chlodomer and Childeberi.

Clodomer { i--s-4), about ty years old at the death of Clovis, ruled as king of western Aquitaine, the country mostly north of the middle Loire, in Orléans. And Childebert 1, (5ii-5$8) commanded the coastal lands from the Somme to Brittany; he resided in Paris, the undisputed capital.*

Little is known about the first reigns of these four kings. Rivalry existed among them from the very beginning, probably encouraged by the close proximity of the four central royal palaces of Reims, Soissons, Paris and Orleans at the heart of the empire. And, grotesquely enough, it was probably intended to symbolize its "ideal unity".

During an uprising in Auvergne, presumably around 5zo, Childebert sought to seize this territory from Theuderich, who was still operating in Thuringia, but then put down the rebellion and devastated Auvergne, including the diocese of St. Quintinianus, Bishop of Clermont. They "devastated everything and destroyed everything", broke down castles, desecrated Catholic temples, did "evil" in them, murdered the priest Proculus sam altar of the church miserable . In the meantime, Childebert invaded the Visigoths, and part of what he robbed

Among other things -6o chalices, i paten, zo gospel containers, all made of pure gold and adorned with precious gemstones-, he donated to the churches and places of worship of the saints - lGregory of Tours). He then made peace with his older (half) brother Theuderich (like his father, a murderer of relatives, albeit of a smaller caliber), but this was soon broken again, despite his oath and hostage-taking, and so "many sons of senators fell into servitude" {Fredtgar).

THE Bu cunD£RKRlEG $*3' 5-4 - **DEMANDED BY A SAINT AGAINST A** HEAL **LIGEN AND MoRDER GUIDEd**

Soon after the Auvergne revolt, the Catholic Frankish kings attacked the Catholic Burgundian kingdom.

Sigismund (Ji6-}15), the son of the Burgundian king Gundobad (p. 6s ff.), still ruled there at the time. Sigismund had been sub-king in Geneva since 5oi. And what the zealot Avitus had failed to achieve with his father, he succeeded in doing with his son. Around 5oo, Sigismund converted from Arianism to Catholicism. His mentor from Vienne triumphantly reported this to Rome. And now Bishop Avitus was able to announce the death of the old "heretic" king, with whom he had been in such animated contact.

-He can hardly wait for the 'Arian plague' and the sole reign of the converted Sigismund. He appears to him as the standard-bearer of the **Christians, the** sight of **him** as paradise.

Sigismund then also introduces Catholicism to gnnz Burgundy. And his eldest son from his first marriage, a grandson of the Ostrogothic **king** Theodoric, the Arian prince Sigeric, also converts (yx6/ty) to the great joy of Avitus. However, Sigerich's move may have been more politically motivated. He aroused the **suspicion of his St. Yatcr, who** had two servants strangle **the approximately 8-year-old in his** sleep**.** For Sigismund, "this model of piety", according to the Catholic Daniel-Rops, "allowed himself to be

sometimes leading to horrific acts of violence and various crimes. But after all, Sigismund is not only, according to Bishop Gregory, 'the most atrocious child murderer', but also a saint {Fest: i. May). So, after the murder of his eldest, he hurries to the monastery of St. Maurice (St. Moritz in Valais), fasts, prays and dedicates an uninterrupted choir to the memory of his victim!

For Avitus had long since become the regent. He was fervently devoted to Catholicism. His very first act of government was to convene a CORZil• S 7 'u Epaon, the sharp resolutions against the Arians. And even before his re Sigismund corresponded with the Pope after his accession to power. He is also the first Germanic king to make a pilgrimage to Rome. There, he is able to receive a visit from Symmachus (a Holy Father of the Straten- and church battles and major falsifications: II j37 et seq.) hardly acquire relics. For Sigismund, the pope is the lord of the whole Church. And to the Emperor Anastasios 1 (II 3a If., 3q6 ff.) he writes to Byzantium: 'My people are yours; I am more pleased to serve you than to rule over my people. -"

Crowned sheep are a true blessing for the herds, even if Rome at that time registered the baptism of Burgundy as little as it had previously registered that of Clovis (p. 8). Archbishop Avitus, however, praised Sigismund's ecclesiastical foundations and his energetic attacks against Arianism in Geneva. He showers the king with flattering titles, calls the youth the father of the Catholic peoples, inspires him to write letters, even composes them for him, such as the one to **the Eastern Roman** Emperor.

After **Avitus /reiIich,** with **Sigisrnund's help,** had achieved the **cacholization** of the Burgundians, his life's goal, which he would probably never have succeeded in doing alone, he immediately confronted the Moor, who had done his duty, in a characteristic manner - the -typical representative of the Catholic hierarchy, Catholic hierarchy, concerned only with the promotion of selfish interests, a domineering, scheming, heartless nature, full of deceit, falsehood and gratitude towards the ruling house to which he owed so much (Hauck). Already at the Burgundian imperial council (y iy) -

which, under Avitus' presidency, primarily served to combat Arianism and secure the church's property (prohibition of the release of ecclesiastical slaves, etc.) and, as it were, indicated the beginning of the catholicization of the Burgundians after aufien - the prince of the church completely ignored the king. Synodal addresses of thanks or devotion to the sovereign were commonplace, and Sigismund's decisive support in the defeat of Arianism would have demanded thanks and recognition. But Avitus iiad the bishops, who cursed the Arian churches at the councils and threatened clergymen who dined with Arians with one-year excommunication or (if they were younger) with corporal punishment, bypassed the king. Indeed, they issued an edict that was incompatible with the law of the land, which led to the regent fighting against the now overpowering episcopate.
fiihri.'°

And there is another battle, also between brothers in faith.

zj Childebert, Chlotar and Chlodomer attack the Burgundians, Catholics upon Catholics, incited by St. Chlotilde, nm to avenge their parents who were liquidated in the power struggles in Burgundy: -Think therefore, I beseech you, with anger, of the injustice I have suffered, and actively avenge the death of my father and mother. Thus speaks a saint who, even after Fredegar, was "relentlessly" driven to revenge. -That is why they went to Burgundy … Only King Theuderich, fathered by Chlodwig with a concubine and married to Suavegotho, Sigismund's daughter, did not join them. The sons of the saints, however, completely defeat the Burgundian. He is betrayed by his subjects and drowned with his family, his wife and two sons in a well near Orléans on the orders of Chlodomer - so as not to have enemies at his back" - a variation on the methods of his Catholic father and: -The only highlight *of Chlodomer*'s reign" {Ebling). "

But Sigismund, the murderer of his own son, became a saint of the Catholic Church, whose liturgy admittedly wavered for a long time as to whether it should pray r or zit Sigismuiid! After all

It was thanks to him that the Burgundians became Catholic. Buried in St. Moritz, which he had founded, his cult soon began. People suffering from fever had masses said in Sigismund's honor (who helped against swamp and intermittent fever). In the th century, he also appears as a saint in the so-called Martyrologium Hicronymianum. In the course of the late Middle Ages, he became one of the patron saints of Bohemia and suddenly a fashionable saint. The Archbishop of Ptag declares Sigismund's feast to be the feast of the archdiocese. His statue appears on French and German altars, on the Freiburg Mint Tower; there are Sigismund churches and a Sigismund brotherhood. His remains, initially resting in St. Moritz, are coveted. The brain shell was sent to St. Sigismund in ElsaB, another head piece to the cathedral in Plozk an der Deichsel, and part of the body to St. Vitus Cathedral in Prague in the 17th century. At the same time, another was sent to Freising, which eventually became the center of his veneration in Germany."

Already ya4, however, the "fortunes of war" changed. Sigismund's Brother and successor Godomar gains power over his country. He wins the battle of Veseronce (near Vienne), in which Chlodomer of Orleans falls due to a Burgundian trick. As their neighbor, he was most interested in their subjugation. They recognized the man who had been hit by a spear by his hair, cut off his head and put it on a pole. The members of the Merovingian royal house were distinguished from all other tribesmen by their long hair. It had an act fetish character. Simply cutting it off, even shortening it, symbolized the loss of dignity.

The situation was similar with the clerical tonsure. According to ecclesiastical law, admission to the priesthood or monastic state irrevocably disqualified one for any secular office.The tonsure - indicated in the sources by phrases such as "-iri {ad) clericum tonsurare (tonderé)", "**clericum** facere {efficere) -, -c1ericum fieri iuberc" and others - was therefore a widespread means of bloodlessly expelling political opponents in the early Middle Ages. was therefore a widespread means of bloodlessly eliminating political opponents in the early Middle Ages, in part to promote careers and the clerical rank."

"BETTER DEAD A ND S HORED ...°
A HOLY GIFT O RDER TO MURDER YOUR CHILDREN 2

After Chlodomer's death, the three brothers, "above all warriors and pure band chieftains" (Pontal), divided his inheritance among themselves, ignoring all claims of the three underage sons of the fallen king and not allowing their mother's guardianship.

The pious Childebert apparently received the lion's share. After all, he was a father of the land who promoted ecclesiastical institutions, liked to associate with bishops, transferred landed property, spoils of war and large sums of money to them and was also in constant contact with the Holy See. And since Childebert and Chlotar, who married Chiodomer's widow Guntheuka, apparently feared the inheritance claims of Chlodomer's underage sons Theude- bald and Gunthar, Childebert - described at the time as wise, mild and kind - suggested their murder, and Chlotar was delighted. After all, both of them had a saint for a mother, the saintly Clothilde, and as a Catholic princess she had already had her sons baptized by Clovis, had brought them both up with love and certainly raised them well as Catholics. And since Chlothilde was also entrusted with the education of the underage sons of the fallen Clodomer, Childeberr and Chlotar, who had taken possession of the nephews, now asked Chlothilde whether she wished her grandsons to live on with their hair cut off [as monks] or that they should both be killed?- To this the - ideal figure of female striving for holiness-, the Apostola Francorum, who was devoted to the two children -in singular love- (unico amore: Fredegar), replied: -Better dead than shorn, if they do not come to rule.

Obviously, even for a saint, a monk counted for nothing, but power counted for everything."

The high Catholic family ties worked together in exemplary fashion. With the express approval of the saints, who, out of sheer revenge, had already fomented the Burgundian War

Chlothar stabbed first one and then the other of the roaring sons in the shoulder. -Then they also killed the servants and tutors of the boys-, Chlothar mounted his horse -urid went away-. Grrgor continued: -The queen, however, laid the bodies of the children on a bier, followed them to the church of St. Peter amid much choral singing and indescribable mourning, and buried them there together. One was ten years old, the other seven ... But Queen Chlotilde led such a life that she was revered by everyone ... Her conduct was always pure in chastity and all honor; she gave goods to the churches, monasteries and all holy places and gladly and kindly granted them what they needed …"

A third son of Chlodomer, Chlodowald the youngest, was saved and, allegedly shearing himself, entered the clergy. -He renounced the earthly kingdom and t u r n e d to the Lord," writes Gregory beautifully. And Fredegar adds: -And led a worthy life; at his grave the L o r d deigns to perform miracles.- (Chlodowald, founder of the monastery of Saint-Cloud near Paris named after him, died around y6o.)" St. 'Chlotilde of all people was pained, -more than a1les-, assures a Catholic, "by the murders of her sons, because she reproached herself for having contributed to them by a kind of rashness" (von Sales Doye). Such a sensitive thing! And the old Catholic church lexicon by Werzer/Welte s a y s that the saint was in a "state of not even knowing what she was saying. They didn't even try to let her come to her senses and wait for the rest," the messenger reported.

-fa1shly-, she agreed with the bloody deed of her sons been.

The saint who incited war and murder was also sparingly helpful. She not only helped and still helps against -malignant *fever,* because she died of fever in Tours, as it is said with stunning logic, but, and it is even more cynical, also against *-childhood diseases,* because she took three orphans, the children of her son Chlo Domir, to herself and loved them (von Sales Doye). The

The two uncles, however, probably in the spring of s3°, shared the inheritance they had earned bloodily enough, with Childebert, the inspirer of the whole thing, getting the lion's share, and the actual murderer uncle Chlothar, the enforcer, getting Tours and Poitiers, including the sanctuaries of St. Martin and St. Hilarius, the patron saints of the Franks, and the treasure."

Theuderic I, the Burgundian king's son-in-law, had **not** conquered him. Reigning over the eastern Frankish kingdom in Reims, he was particularly attracted to Germania, especially neighboring Thuringia, and so he repeatedly attempted to move there.

the annihilation of the thuringian empire and the
extermination of seIlnss köN IGSHAUSES

The name of the Thuringians was first mentioned at4 by a Roman army veterinarian in a work on veterinary science. Atis various groups of Central Germany and other Elbe Germanic tribes had grown together, were

They were soon by far the strongest nation between the Elbe and the Rhine; the only one there with a hereditary kingship, founded by King Bisin in the 5th century, and also one of the few Ger- ixian kingdoms outside the Roman sphere of influence. Thuringia, whose heyday began in daixial, stretched from the **middle Elbe, the Ohre and the Harz via the Upper Main to the** Danube area near Regensburg (around d8o Passau was sacked) and from the Tauber to the Bohemian Forest; the residence was often Weimar. When King Bisin died before xo, his kingdom was divided between his sons Heimenefrcd (married to Amalaberga, a niece of the Ostrogoth king Theoderieh), Baderich and Ber- thachar. And from io onwards, Thuringia belonged to the Visigothic military pact, Theode- rich's anti-Frankish alliance system, which quickly disintegrated after his death yz6.

Theuderich I, who had long been o b s e s s e d with expansion, had

Theodoric had already made an advance on the powerful country after yi5, probably lured by internal power struggles, but this failed. It was not until a few years after Theoderic's death, jxq, that he dared to launch a full-scale attack, with part-king Berthachar perishing in battle. His children, including Radegunde, were taken to the Frankish kingdom in 53i, when Theuderich attacked Thuringia again, together with his son Theudebert, brother Chlotar (whom Theuderich assassinated while still in Thuringia) and very probably with the Saxons, who were pushing southwards from the North Sea coast. (The Christian-inspired sources of the Merovingian Empire, however, remain silent about Saxon involvement, presumably to avoid admitting that they had only won with the help of a non-Frankish, even pagan tribe).

So many Thuringians fell at the Uristrut that the bed of the river was dammed up by the mass of corpses and the Franks crossed it, as if over a bridge, to the other bank (Gregory of Tours). The invaders devastated Thuringia terribly, robbed it, stormed and burned the royal castle, the exact location of which can only be guessed at. Hermenefred, who for his part had already bloodily eliminated his closest relatives in a power struggle, partly with Frankish help, was paid tribute.

554 ätls impassable parts of the country on word of honor, assurance of life and limb, lured to Zülpich in the Eifel, lavished with gifts - and during a visit

Theuderich fell from the city wall. Thuringia now largely belonged to the murderer. Chlotar had only received a share of the spoils, while Saxony received northern Thuringia in return for a tribute. Many Thuringians had fled, partly to the Ostrogothic sphere of interest, partly to the Lombards in Moravia. The Ostrogoths and Lombards, both allies of Thuringia, had given this up."

Only the beautiful princess Radegunde survived the emaciated Thuringian royal house. As the daughter of Berthachar, who was eliminated at an early age, she had stayed at the court of her uncle Hermenefrcd until Chlothar took her to his palace of Arhies near Saint-Quentin.

dragged. A war almost broke out between the two Frankish princes over the young king's daughter, especially as her 8esin ltgalized her claim to the Thuringian kingdom. Theuderich made an attempt on Chlotar's life (unjustly marrying his concubines) six times, who then had Radcgunde flee to a monastery, if he did not even kill her, after he had murdered her brother, perhaps fearing blood revenge.

Just outside Poitiers, Radcgunde founded the monastery of St. Cross. And here she is said to have lived as an ascetic, only in memory of her homeland, her dead - with the words of her secretary and "soul friend" Venantius Fortunatus, some twenty years younger than her, the late Bishop of Poitiers, the equally spoiled and accomplished occasional poet of Frankish greats, who repeatedly praises her -dulcedo-, her kindness: -I saw them dragging women into servitude, their hands tied, with 1)icing hair, their naked feet in their husband's blood or stepping on their brother's corpse. Everyone wept, I wept for everyone ... When the wind rustles, I listen to see if the shadow of one of my own appears to me. A world separates me from those I loved. Where are they? I ask the wind, I ask the drifting clouds, a bird, I wish, would bring me news.

Radegunde became a saint, a healer of cranes, child fever and ulcers - and according to the belief of many inhabitants of Poi- riers, where her bishop friend is also venerated as a saint, it was only because of Radcgunde that they did not get a German occupation in7* ."

FURTHER WARS AGAINST RED UHO BURGUNDY

Initially, the Visigoths, who had reclaimed part of the land stolen by Clovis, remained unchallenged. Fear of Theodcrich, the Ostrogoth king, kept the Franks in check. However, some Catholic pratfalls in the

reconquered Visigoth territories with the Franks again. Chief shepherd Quintian had to flee from Rodez
{p. 6q). -Because **of** his love for us, he said, he w a s expelled from his city." Thus Theuderich explains, läfit made Quintian 5i6 bishop in Ciermont and gave him "all church property"."

After Theodoric's death (5z6), the first actions against the Visigoths took place. And although there were generally no sharp confessional conflicts between Arians and Catholics, the cause was apparently of a religious nature. The sister of the Frankish kings, Chlothilde, a daughter of Clovis, had married the Visigoth king Amalaric (5o;r-53 i), the son of Alaric II (p. ö8 ff.), who allegedly mistreated the Catholics because of their faith. -He often loved", claims Bishop Gregory,
-Childebert then i n v a d e d Seprimania, accompanied by the late bishop of Bordeaux, Leontius, defeated **Amalaric** at Narbonne and pushed the borders of his Aquitaine exclave as far as the Pyrenees. Ama- larich fled to Barcelona, where he was about t o move on to Italy when the Frank Besso killed him in the fall.

53* Thcuderich and Chlotar also intervene in the Visigothic War, which is of course nothing but a war of robbery, like the Frankish invasions in Italy, yi Childcbcrt and Chlotar cross the Pyrenees for the first time, devastate Pamplona, the Ebro Valley, but fail at Saragossa, since the besieged - in penitential vows under choir singing with the skirt of the holy martyr Vincentius on the walls of the city - (Gregory).
-Caesaraugusta (Zaragoza) was "liberated by prayer and fasting" (Fredegar).'°

In the meantime, shortly after the conversion of the Burgundians to Catholicism, the fate of their kingdom had also been decided.
s3° "In fact, a year after the bloody defeat of Thuringia, Childebert and Chlotar were once again in Burgundy

Theuderich, the king of Reirns, was still operating in Thuringia, and towards the end of the 33rd century, he was the second king of Reirns. Thus, after Chlodomer, the second ChIodwigsproß disappears from the scene. And the dead man's two brothers immediately seek out his son and successor, their nephew Theudebert 1- (s33*54 i to eliminate and deprive him of his part of the empire. But the three-year-old, already well experienced in war, holds his ground and soon attacks with all his energy, especially
to the east. But his advances, real raids y3z and y33 rtach southwest Gaul, as far as Narbonensis, into eastern Gothic Provence, were also a complete success" {Ewig).

In the final battles, Theudeberr perhaps even joins in the slaughter of the Burgundians. Their king Godomar, who sinks into the aftermath of history without a trace, is finally defeated and his kingdom divided up among the three Franks in 53d. Like the Alemanni and the Thuringians, the Burgundian tribe retains its own tribal rights. From then on, however, it was forced to participate in the wars of the Franks and to pay interest and tribute, and Burgundian Arianism was definitively destroyed by Frankish Catholicism."

Chlotar and Childeberi, the two noth surviving Chlod- king's sons, had not been able to eliminate the nephew, not to deafen his kingdom, not even to exclude him :'from the distribution of the ruined Burgundy. Thus the sonless Childebert now made the increasingly powerful Theudebert his friend. -1I would have you as a son-, he said, showered him with benefits and even adopted him as his heir. And no sooner had the two Catholic kings come to an agreement than they began a campaign against Chlotar, the brother and uncle whom they wanted to eliminate in every respect and kill the following day. He retreated from the advancing family band to the Font de la Bioronne near Rouen, where he encountered great obstacles in the bushes, but relied solely on the grace of God. And St. Queen Chlothilde also prostrated herself at the grave of lil. Martin and kept vigil all night.

So, after Gregor, once again the wonder-

The intervention of this saint was evident, a heavy storm that weakened the enemy's fighting power - lightning, thunder and hail - while not a single drop of rain fell on Chlothar's side, indeed, nothing was felt of the entire storm. In reality, a major political crisis, Justinian's
the beginning of the Gothic conflict t!!! 4*4 tt), brought the fratricidal war that had just broken out to a standstill. However, the Frankish warriors now had new prey in Italy, new opportunities
of the expansion.'*

Both sides, Byzantines and Goths, wanted the battle-hardened Franks as allies. Emperor Justinian reminded them of their common Catholic faith, the Arian
-heresy- of his enemies -and added gifts of money, also promising to give more once they were at work-. And the Franks also promised him -with great willingness their alliance- (Prokop), but concluded a treaty with the
-The Franks signed a treaty with the Goths, as Wittigis ceded the Provence to them, which Childebert received, as well as Chiirrätia, which passed through Theu- debert, who thus already dominated the Alpine foothills *from the* Great St. Bernard to the far east around y36. Consequently, the Franks now had access to both the Mediterranean and Italy. They also received the protectorate over Alemanic territories. And finally, the Goths paid the Frankish princes, who guaranteed non-Frankish contingents, xooo pounds of gold."

Of course, the Franks had no intention of joining their Gallic brothers. Childebert, who was only interested in Gallic plunder, and Chlotar of Soissons, who had come away empty-handed from the new land gains in the south, did not intervene in the battle at all. The Church, which is not usually so peace-oriented, made sure of this. Now, however, Pope Vigilius, the murderer of his predecessor (IIW7 ff.,44 ff.), who had been bought by Byzantium for zoo gold pieces, had the Provençal bishop Aurelianus of Afles - by letter dated z3. August s4 - «-
to ensure that peace is maintained between Childebert and **Justinian.**"

THEUDEBERT I. - "MAGDUS" , "RELIGIOSUS", "CHRI STIANUS PRINCEPS", "A CRT GirFEL-

When the Goths advanced, as they did under Witigis when they captured Rome in i7 and attacked the Byzantines in Dalmatia, the Franks ordered auxiliary troops to Venetia and ravaged it. However, when Witigis was besieged in 38, ten thousand Burgundians were sent to besiege Milan (II 43* f.).

And the next year, Theudebert 1 himself fell with allegedly zoo one man in Italy. First he took control of Raetia, as far as it was still Ostrogothic, because of its Alpine passes. Then, after the Goths had given him access to the Po Valley, he defeated the Goths and the Byzantines one after the other, much to the surprise of both. He stormed Genoa, ravaged the Aemilia to the horror of the whole country with savage plundering, advanced almost as far as Venice at times and was only forced to retreat by hunts and plagues, which are said to have killed a third of his men. However, he left garrisons behind, later re-established contact with Goths and Byzantines, sent new armies to Venetia around 3qy, refused to assist King Totila (I43s .} during the Gothic invasion and died before the final Byzantine offensive547 Oder yq8. use."

Theudeberi had only one interest in northern Italy: not to let any of the warring parties win in order to gain as much as possible for himself. In doing so, he sometimes attacked the one, sometimes the other, sometimes both together. He annexed the whole of Raetia, Bavaria and Innoricum (Carinthia) to his territory and boasted in a letter to Justinian that the expansion of his empire was also the expansion of the Catholic faith. In fact, the bishops of Säbcn, Teurnia and Agunt in the Puster Valley were also a p p o i n t e d by Frankish archbishops at the time.^

Theudebert, who was the first Frenchman to call himself Augustus and felt himself the successor to the Roman Caesars, who loved imperial attitudes, illegally emblazoned gold solids with his own image, so to speak, in Arles in the manner of the emperor's circus games.

who is said to have thought of an ecocide of Constantinople and hoped that a move against Byzantium, planned jointly with the Gepids and the Lombards, would lead to imperial power and world domination, such a man was naturally on good terms with the Church, indeed he consciously relied on it for his intended world power politics. He sent his bishops to the national councils, convened his own council 5j5 in Clermpnt and even maintained contact with the Roman See: y38 he informed himself about the -bureaucracy- of Pope Vigilius {y3y-y5y), the murderer of his predecessor, the pope's son Silverius, but perhaps also already involved in the death of Silverius' predecessor Agapet I

No wonder that Theudcbcrt, who robbed and plundered on a large scale, who took up arms against his own uncle, who fought the Goths and the Byzantines, was celebrated by Catholic bishops as a ruler distinguished with all the virtues of a ruler and honored with the epithet "magnus", and was described by St. Aurelian, Bishop of Arks, as -religiosus- and -chtistianus princeps-. "He ruled", writes St. Gregory, "his kingdom with justice, honored the bishops, endowed the churches, helped the poor and did many good deeds from a pious and loving heart".

In fact, King Theudebert was a benefactor of the Church, which he -fiscally spared and ... (tax collectors), while he had his Frankish subjects fleeced with taxes according to Roman fire. It speaks for itself that his finance minister Parthenius (a grandson of Bishop Huficius of Limoges, murderer of his wife and his friend) was dragged out of a church in Trier after Theudebert's death, despite episcopal protection, by an angry Yolk, beaten, beaten and stoned to death. On the other hand, take back Bishop Gregory: - All the tributes that the churches of Auvergne had to pay to his treasury, he exacted from them." (A sister of the king probably became the founder of Saint-Pierre-le-Vif in Sens).

This later history is also evidenced by the Times before the ruler. Still on the threshold of the zo. year

one historian praises: -An imposing personality, this TheudeRrt! Full of wild sensuality and unbridled pride; faithless and unquestioning in the choice of his means to such an extent that even in this passionate age he far exceeded the measure of the usual; bold, unrestrained in his plans and goals …, experienced in the arts of diplomatic intrigue like no other; a general whom victory never lets down ... Theudeberr thus appears as the shining apex of the Merovingians' hot-blooded but talented genius. In continuous increase . . , an Ari peak was now reached (sweating)."

MORDER KINGS AND MONDER POPES

However, the clan that survived Theudebert was even more criminal and even more devoted to the church.

Even in the last years of his life, Chlotar I waged war almost incessantly, without this worrying or even exciting the preachers of peace, love of neighbor and enemies. The king - for a long time the weakest prince of the Franks until he ruled the realm alone after the death of Chil- debert I (y y8) - had also rebuked the growing wealth of the church, although in accordance with his brother's constitution of Js4 he also condemned paganism.

ziclbewufit sought to eradicate. In an awkldz-s ess z--
Although he was defeated by the Saxons, he overcame the Saxons and Thuringians together the following year and also ordered troops against the Eastern Romans to ltalign. In 557 he fought the Saxons again, allegedly against their will, but he was defeated - with enormous bloodshed, and such a large number fell on both sides that no one can estimate or calculate them - (Gregory). On the other hand, he was victorious over the Danes and the Euts.

In the end, he even found himself embroiled in a real war with his own son Chramm, the unruly king of Fiquita- nia. It was with him that the pious, childless

Uncle Childebert I once again plotted against his own brother - with both sides taking an oath. And while the Saxons, summoned by Childebert, devastated the Rhineland as far as the region of Deutz, Chramm confessed Clermont and Dijon in vain, but conquered Chalon-sur-Saône and Tours, while uncle Childebert burned Champagne as far as Reims, devastated Reims itself with fire and sword, but died in Paris on December 3, 558 and died in the church of St. Vicentius.He died in Paris on December 558 and was buried in the church of St. Vicentius, called Saint-Germain-des-Prés.'-

Childcbert's death freed brother Chlotar from a bad situation. He passed his kingdom and archer, banished his wife and two daughters and now ruled the entire Frankish empire alone for a short time, until y6i. His son Chramm, the only son of Chlotar to be fathered with his second wife Chunsina (all the other sons of the king, who was blessed with five wives, were descended from Ingunde or Aregundc), briefly reconciled with him. yf'o, however, after another rebellion, he was beaten by his father in Brittany, taken prisoner and burned to death in a hut on his orders, together with his wife and daughters, after Chramm had first been strangled to death with a sheet of sweat (St. Sigismund had his son murdered in the same way: p. 83).'-.

One year later, the last of the four sons of Clovis died, Chlorar, who, like his father, had all lived for robbery, murder and war. And all of them, rather more than him, were religious. Or pretended to. They searched everywhere for martyrs' bones, ensured translations, the veneration of the saints. They founded many monasteries and endowed them richly. They generously donated property to the clergy and gave them levies. The old annals are full of praise."

Of course, the bishops did everything they could to get their money's worth. Most of them were as cowardly and princely as ever. But others really tried to grab the lords. For example, when Chlotar demanded the third part of their income from all the churches and all the bishops also signed

reluctantly enough, one man, St. Innocent (what a fitting name for a bishop!), refused. - If you-, he said to Chlotar, -God will take what is his, the Lord will soon take your kingdom." tfnd the proud king quickly crawled to the cross, demanded no more money, but rather, fearing St. Martin's revenge, sent Injuriosus, the angry one, many gifts, asked for forgiveness, his assistance and took everything back - if we may believe Gregory of Tours.

Perhaps Chlotar 1, in whose country the church was less organized and particularly disrupted, made the least of Christianity. Nevertheless, he too was a devout Catholic, a Christian, who waged one war after another, who had his closest relatives, underage boys, girls and his own son murdered, while he himself made considerable love, with countless wives and at least six wives in succession - "and not always in succession" (Schultze). And yet the king was still

He was compared to a priest and highly praised as a spiritual author of the 7th century. And yet he took care of the transfer of martyrs; he promoted the veneration of the

Medardus, the patron saint of the King's Hatises; he supported the founding of churches and monasteries, so obedient to the clergy that he gave Waldarada, his Lombard wife (because his first and second husband were too closely related!), in marriage to the Bavarian Duke Garibald after ecclesiastical objection. (However, Bishop Gregory did not criticize the king's polygamy with Ingund and her sister Aregtind)."

Childcbcrt I was particularly zealous in his faith and devoted to the cause. The usurper and inventor of blood built a basilica near Paris, the later abbey of St. Germain-des-Prés, to St. Creus and the Spanish arch-martyr Vincent of Saragossa, whose sufferings were decorated with great propaganda effect. He donated to the cell of St. Eusicius, to whom he also built a church. In general, he made rich gifts to the Catholic Church, founded monasteries in which he prayed for his salvation and the continued existence of the Frankish empire, gave land, large sums of money, and founded the monastery of St. Eusicius.

summcn, including his loot. He once distributed to the Frankish church dozens of chalices, many paten, gospel capsules, all made of gold and precious stones, which he had looted during the Spanish war. Childeberr made Orléans the ecclesiastical capital of the empire. Four national councils met there {533, 38, di and y4 q). All the Frankish kings sent (ex-
the Council y38) their bishops. 5ya Childebert convened a another national council in Paris. He issued an edict against paganism, which was still alive above all in the northern and eastern Franconian kingdom. He harshly persecuted anyone who erected images of gods in the fields and did not suffer their destruction by priests. He also banned pagan feasts, songs and dances, without, of course, directly demanding forced worship.

From yqo onwards, Childebert's relations with the imperial court were mostly conducted via the church. And of course this prince, sung about in verse by Bishop Venantius Fortunatus as "gentle, good and just to all", as "king and priest" and compared to the Melchizedech of the Old Testament, was in constant contact with Rome. The constant instigator of land theft and murder on a grand scale had relics delivered from there by the 5ubdeacon Homobonus. The murderer pope Vigilius, who requested the king's intervention with Totila in favor of the church, nann- te Childeßrt (on zz. May yqy) -our glorious son- and praised (a°3 Augu•• 54*) his -Christian and godly
Wi1len--.ı'

But Vigilius' successor, Pope Pclagius I *$ $6-56s 1,* like his predecessor a creature of the Byzantine court (even their successors could only be elected with the emperor's consent), had to humble himself in the most disgraceful way imaginable, since his orthodoxy was doubted, and in FebfUäT557 -inem Childebert to present a detailed confession of faith! And on x3.
On April 13, the pope inquired whether this profession of faith had satisfied the king, the bishop of Arles and his coepiscopi.

The orthodoxy of the Holy Father was, of course, not only suspect in the Fraric kingdom. For as the representative of Vigilius

Pelagius also faithfully carried out the pope's maneuvers in the three-chapter strcit, first fearlessly protesting, then agreeing, then perhaps even removing the pope. At the very least, he met with icy disapproval from the nobility, clergy and people, as he had a reputation for having caused the death of Vigilius, just as the latter had caused the death of his predecessor, or perhaps his two predecessors. Only after Pelagius had "purified himself by a solemn oath by the Gospels and the cross" were two chief shepherds and a presbyter prepared with difficulty to consecrate Pelagius pope.'*

Of course, the dogmatically disreputable Pelagius vigorously continued the fight against heretics himself. As early as y5y, the Mani chders in Ravenna were brought before the city and stoned to death. And just as the pope drove Narses to hunt heretics - allaying his concerns by assuring him that the punishment of evil was not persecution but love! -he also urged King Childebert 1 to take action against schismatics and resolutely demanded state coercion."

Pope Pelagius I died in the same year as the last son of Clovis, Clotar I, y6i.

In this decade, however, another Germanic people began to play an increasingly important role alongside the Franks and Visigoths: the Lombards.

4. CHAPTER

THE LOMBARD INVASION

°Bald the wild people of the Langobcrden raged like a sword, drawn from the sheath of their dwelling place, against our necks, and the people, who were like a dense seed in our land, were wasted and withered.
Pepst Gregor I'.

The Lombards, the -Langbärie" (from longus, long and barba, beard), as their name is traditionally interpreted, belonging to the East rather than the West Germanic tribes, were a numerically small people and probably came from Scandinavia, perhaps from Gotland. Around the turn of the millennium, they were related to the Saxons and settled on the lower Elbe, where a part of their people remained permanently and where the name Bar- dengau was still used in the zo. Century the names Bar- dengau and Bardowiek remind us of them.

The Lombards are mentioned in the history of the hardly ever mentioned. As archaeological finds show, the migrants followed

first the Elbe and moved its d* 4 century within two hundred years to the Balkans: via Bohemia, Moravia, a part of today's Lower Austria, the -Rugi1and- (which they

Around q88, the Rugians, who also came from Scandinavia and were also Germanic, occupied the island of Rügen). They advanced further south via Hungary, creating an empire in the Danube region as far as Belgrade. Longobard auxiliaries had supported]ustinian's wars against the Persians and in 55z under Narses in the decisive battle against the Ostrogoths (II43) . From Byzarlz

disappointed, their leader Alboin allied himself with the Avars and wiped out the empire of the Gepids, another East Germanic tribe, with these5 7 in another decisive battle - such a slaughter, allegedly 6o ooo dead on both sides, that there was hardly a messenger left of the numerous people to report the destruction" (Paulus Diakonus).

Alboin took the daughter of the slain Gepid king Ku-

nimund, Rosemund, to wife. But now the Gepids no longer sat between the Lombards and the Avars, who soon followed suit. And in the spring of y68, according to a contemporary Burgundian chronicler, the entire Lombard army left Pannonia after setting fire to their residences, followed by women and the rest of the population. Under pressure from Avar expansion and lured from the south, they invaded the mostly unprotected north of Italy, led by their king Alboin, via Emona (Ljubljana) and the passes of the Julian Alps - the same route that Alaric and Theodoric had once taken.

It was the last great trek of the migration - an almost

The word sounds harmless, but centuries of robbery, mass murder, hunger and starvation are behind it, the selling of men, women and children on the slave markets, according to an eyewitness, like inferior cattle. And two centuries later, the Lombards themselves are worn down, crushed by what is simply called history and yet is little more than man's unbridled lust for power and murder.

With the Lombards, all in all perhaps i3o one so-called stelae, came other tribal groups, peoples from Pannonia, Noricum, the Balkans, many Saxons, remnants of the Gepids, Thuringians, Suebi, Slavic Sarmatians. And just as the Lombards were open to the integration of others*, they were also open to religious tolerance. Largely Christianized since around 5oo, their great majority consisted of Arians. However, there were also Catholics among them - Alboin himself was initially married to Chlo-Tar's first daughter Chlodosinda - and there were above all pagans who, not opposed in the least, k e p t their sacrifices and sacrificial feasts for even longer, whereby the change of faith of individual kings apparently hardly p l a y e d a role.

THE CASE

In Italy, the Lombards founded the last Germanic empire on the soil of the former Roman Empire as a thin layer of lords in towns and castles. Only a decade earlier, the Arian Ostrogoths had been all b u t wiped out there in a horrific war, a twenty-year crossroads, and the country had been turned into a smoking ruin, a desert - the joint work of the emperor and the pope, the main profiteer (tII Jaq ff.). The Lombards, however, for whom the destruction of the Ostrogoths had cleared the way, did not come as foederati, but as brutal conquerors into the region under the rule of the Eastern Roman Empire, armed with such monstrous weapons that, writes Viscount Montgomery of Alamein, impressed, they could pick up their pierced opponent while he writhed in pain at the point of the spear. What the Byzantines had robbed from the Ostrogoths, plunder of the worst kind, the Lombards now robbed again, piece by piece: once again widely burned land, depopulated cities, ruined monasteries find churches - leaving behind the 3 "crnpcln already ruined by Christians.

Italy fell into King Alboin's lap almost effortlessly. It had been exhausted by the long Gothic War and divided by the Triumvirate War. The prevailing plague and famine did the rest. A b o v e all, however, the attack obviously took the Byzantines by surprise. Justinian's nephew, Justinos II, did not react (he became yg geisrcsLran1). A *mercenary army* sent in the following mal\r was wiped out. And the subsequent emperors tied up crises in the east and in the Balkans.

The I-Angobards initially won several Venetian and Loinbard cities north of the Po. In September *S69* they sa- din in Milan, which fell to them without a sword strike. There were no riots or acts of violence, only the usual cessions were demanded. By yyi they had conquered the Po Valley and, again harassing the country and its people, advanced towards Uai- bria and Tuscany. Only in 5yz, after three years of siege,

They took the fiercely contested city of Pavia and made it their capital. Their rulers resided in the Ostrogothic royal palace.

Alboin Ireilich, the victor, was appointed the same summer. He was poisoned by his shield-bearer Helmichis, poisoned by his presumed lover, the royal goddess Rosamund, whose father, the Gepid prince Kunimund, the Lombard had once slain in battle. The Byzantine gold probably also played a role in the poisoning. The murderer and the queen fled with the crown treasure to Italy, to Ravenna, where they both poisoned each other.

Just two years later, Alboin's (probably equally Arian) successor Klef was also killed, but he was liquidated by a long line of prominent Romans. The Lombards now remained without a king for ten years. Allegedly, 36 dukes succeeded Klef's underage son Authari, who was elected king and probably removed from o f f i c e . The Lombards showed great skill in deilei: King Tato, y5i King Hildichis had already b e e n killed around şiz.*

When the new robbers invaded, the old ones had retreated to the Padua-Mantua line to protect Ravenna, the residence of their governor. The invaders met with little resistance. They advanced from the north into the region of Suburbicaria, founded the powerful duchies of Spoleto and 8encvent around yyo, made forays even into Calabria and conquered most of Italy. Only the Duchy of Rome, the coastal enclaves of Venice, Ravenna, Naples, Rhegium, Tarentu and others, connected only by sea, remained under the control of the emperor. Sicily, Sardinia and Corsica were also spared by the Lombards for the time being because they knew nothing about seafaring. However, even after they took over the land, the fighting did not stop and they made incursions into areas that had remained Byzantine. Apart from hunting, they perhaps loved robbery, booty and raids the most.

During their offensive, they occasionally had a few monks

hanged, priests stabbed to death, churches robbed, eachfaÍls according to Bishop Gregory of Tours and Pope Gregory 1, who claimed

one GØmetZel seİen -4 prisoners, at a second one

4 farmers and in a third a group of Valefian monks were massacred. But basically we know little about this invasion. A third of the land was

expropriated, above all from the arrested large landowners. Presumably, many of them were expropriated or made economically dependent, made into exempt landowners, so that the estates merely changed hands and the bondage remained. Numerous people were captured, enslaved, sold to Frankish slave traders and many were chased away. Even those who had previously been oppressed, small local craftsmen and agricultural workers, rebelled, denounced and carried out lynchings against the previous bloodshed victims. Thousands lost their p o s s e s s i o n s overnight.

The rich had often absconded anyway, often as far as the Alps, even the most famous bishops relying more on flight than on the Lord. The Patriarch of Aquileia, Paulinus, had fled with all his treasures to the island of Grado, Archbishop Honoratus of Milan, also with his treasury and most of his clergy, to the imperial fortress of Genoa, Bishop Fabius *of* Firmum with his church treasures to Ancona, Bishop Festus of Capua to the **Popes,** where he soon died. Monks from Monte Cassino also rushed to Rome, clerics from Vefinafruin to Naples, selling the vestments and chalices from their church to a Jew¡ also fleeing, and ini Exi1 irian wanted to live in a common status. In Sicily, the safest refuge, where particularly large flocks of priests landed, a lot of church utensils were sold. Even entire Catholic dioceses disappeared, at least 4s, not through persecution but through the loss of their goods, famine and epidemics."

CO LLABORATION AND CONVERSION

-soon raged-, says Pope Gregory 1 IS 4). -The wild people of the Lombards like a sword, drawn from the scabbard of their dwelling place, against our neck, and the people that stood in our land like a dense seed was cut down and withered. For the cities have been depopulated, the strongholds destroyed, churches burned down, manor houses and monasteries razed to the ground; the estates are abandoned and no one takes care of them¡ the poor land lies fallow and desolate, no owner lives there anymore, and wild animals dwell where many people once lived.-'

Well, that may have been more grist to the mill of Gregorian propaganda and doomsday moods (p. i58) than reality. For it was not so much "the people" who were "drowned and withered" as the landowners, the great agrarians. Not everyone fled, not even all the priests ran away. In Treviso, Bishop Pelix went to meet King Alboin and handed the town over to him, which was only to his advantage.

Other cases were different. Bishop Cethegus of Amiternum later fled from his occupied city to Rome. However, he returned, presumably collaborated with the ßycantines, became involved in a conspiracy and was executed under the Lombard duke Umbolus. But there were also more pleasant contacts with the enemies of the empire, admittedly not exactly for the Holy Father, who - according to many reports - had to learn that clergymen were living together with "foreign", probably Lombard women.

As much as Gregory I lamented the Lombards, however, he did not want to destroy them, had he wanted to, he claimed, because he considered them to be "savages", "horrible", "abominable" heretics, even pagans who prayed to animal gods,

-If that nation had no king, dukes or counts today, they would be at the mercy of their inevitable downfall. Whether it w a s only Gregory's fear of God, his Chri-

stentum, which prevented him from committing genocide, as he wrote to the emperor? In any case, his predecessors supported countless wars, some even the extermination of the Vandals and Goths. And Gregory was also not squeamish when it came to bloodshed (p.*7* ff., iso ff.).*

But, no doubt, he did not want to destroy, -convert- the Lombards, because that could only be to his benefit. Thus he played a dubious role, and even his biographer Jeffrey Richards, who almost always took his side, admits: -'It was his ever-increasing involvement in all aspects of this problem that d i d much to increase the secular power and influence of the papacy.'

So they all came to terms - above all, as usual, the clerical circles. Crawling to the cross is peculiar to them, and they had just demonstrated it again with the Goths and the Byzantines and would continue to demonstrate it f o r centuries to come, long after the German primate, the prince-archbishop Cardinal Ber-streetcar of 8reslau, who in 1933 justified the decided about-face of the high clergy with the shameless sentences

-Again, it has been shown* that our Church is not bound to any political system, to any secular form of government, to any party constellation. The Church has higher goals …– Certainly, and its highest goal: opportunism in this or that form; to survive, to retain power, to increase power, as is the case now. "For many bishops were anxious to come to an understanding with the Lombards, with the result that the regular succession and continuity in the episcopal office were preserved in many northern Italian dioceses" {Richards).

The Lombards even left the Catholics their cathedral in the residential city of Pavia, whose inhabitants were not harmed after three years of destruction, confirmed Catholic property in other *cities,* and even made no small donations to the enemy prelates. King Alboin issued Bishop Felix of Treviso with a letter of protection for "all the assets of his church" (Paulus Diakonus). But the reaction

Catholics are sometimes like the monks of ßobbio, who
Gunsterwcisc arianc kings naturally cnrgccepted,
-But they did not even reply to the Grufi. And while the Lombards did not care in the slightest about the Catholics being defeated, the situation was quite different the other way round.

When Alboin, the most famous of the Lombard princes, married the Catholic Frankenprincess Chlodoswintha, Nicetius of T'ier immediately turned to her: I wonder that Alboin does not think and worry about the kingdom of God and his salvation, but holds those in honor, is content with those who bring his 5eele to hell rather than lead them the way of salvation ... Lady, I beseech you, therefore, by the trembling of the Day of Judgment, that you read this letter with understanding and discuss it intelligently and frequently with him." St. Bishop does not fail to encourage the queen to irritate her husband with dogmatic questions. In doing so, he does his utmost to denounce Arianism and, himself a man of -great miracles- (Gregory of Tours), argues for the legitimacy of his faith on the basis of the -Wn- der- of the Catholic saints, just as he once argued for the blessing of Catholicism for Clovis. -And you know what he accomplished after his baptism against the heretics Alaric and King Gundobad; and you are also not unaware of how many gifts of God's grace he and his sons could call their own on this earth Watch, watch, for you have a gracious God. I pray
you to act in such a way that you make the people of the Lombards strong
against his enemies and we can rejoice in the salvation of your spouse and yourself.-'°

Nicetius was not successful. But &ls S 4 *'n part of the dukes appointed Klef's son Authari as king, he too was an Aryan, but now Catholicism was making inroads everywhere. And finally
In the meantime, after the death of the last son of Clovis, Chlorar I (y6i), the era of the grandsons and great-grandsons had begun.

5. KAPITEL

THE LATER MEROVINGIANS

-The priests of the Lord and their assistants were killed in the affairs of the church itself. After all of them had been destroyed, so that no male remained, the entire city with its churches and other buildings was set on fire, leaving nothing behind but the bare ground.° Bishop Cregor of Tours'

-No one f°B'*" ° 5 only the bishops, our glory is there …- King Chilperich 1.'

While the difference between Franks and Gallo-Romans gradually diminished, but not the difference in legislation, the outer borders of the Merovingian Empire remained as they were until the end of the Merovingian period. There were political entanglements, a few attacks by the Avars in Thuringia and the Visigoths in southern France, as well as a few Frankish incursions and raids beyond the borders. But the main concern was no longer outward expansion, the extension of the empire, the subjugation and fleecing of foreign, distant neighbors, but the kings, four again, and their many successors sought to increase their possessions, their kingdoms, at the expense of the other kingdoms and to damage and weaken them almost continuously and in every way; in short, each sought supremacy.

Thus, in the later 6th and early 7th centuries, when almost all the Merovingian princes died prematurely and violently, there were continued brutalities and attacks on a large scale in the empire, civil and loot wars raged almost incessantly, ever new villages were burned to the ground, whole regions were devastated, uncounted plundering, mutilations and murders were committed, and there were also epidemics and hardships. The peasants hid in the
forests and raided on their own. All means were right for the fighters in this raging witch's cauldron if **they** promised **any prospect of success.**

THE CHl-ODwic-ENxEL

After the death of Chlotar I, the Frankish kingdom was divided into four kingdoms, after the early death of his eldest son into three, and after the death of his second son into two.

Initially, as half a century earlier after Clovis I's departure, four heirs divided the kingdom, Clotar's 1st sons (listed according to age):

Charibert 1st of Paris, who died at the end of $67, having repudiated his wife, Queen lngoberga, and united with the two sisters Meroflede and Marcovefa, a nun, and married Theodechilde, t h e daughter of a shepherd, for the fourth time, had married.

Guntram of Orléans (56i-5qz), who ruled the Franco-Burgundian kingdom alternately from Chalons on the Saône and from Orleans. The first mediaeval document on the sanctification of Sundays (y88) has been preserved from him. He also occasionally - so that one could have taken him for a bishop of the Lord - (Gregory) ordered days of prayer, fasting (only water and bread), night vigils and generally kept the church very much in order, allegedly even mortifying himself, although he also indulged in masses. Gun- streetcar releases his concubine Veneranda in order to marry Marcatrude, daughter of a certain Magnachar, whom he likewise disowned because she had poisoned Veneranda's child. He then takes Austrichilde, a maid of Magnachar, whose two sons he kills for the sake of his wife's honor and whose goods he has confiscated "for the crown treasure". And to her, Austrichilde, the pious prince, who was full of miraculous power and kindness of heart (Gre- gor) and was already considered a saint during his lifetime, promised to execute the doctors who could not heal her - and fulfilled what he promised (p. rzp f.). And was later honored as a saint! (bßSt: °7- March)

The political scene was dominated by Sigibert I of Rheims (i5*--57s), the **king** of the Frankish Eastern Kingdom, and the youngest, stepbrother of the other three, Chilperich I of Soissons (ydi-y8J),

Their wives Brunichild and Galswintha, sisters from the Visigothic royal family, converted to Catholicism when they were christened.

Since Charibert 1st, the eldest grandson of the Clods and king of Paris, had already died at7 , his territory, almost the entire western part of Gaul, was divided up and seized. Instead of the quarter
This led to a new division, the now essentially continuing tripartite division of the Frankish Empire into Austria, Neustria - both of which were called -Francia- in the broader sense - and Burgundy. (Even in the Lombard period, the eastern part of Upper Austrasia was called Austria, the western part Neustria).

Auster, Austria {Ostland), usually called Auxtrasia and ruled by Sigibert, consisted of the territories around the Meuse and Rhine and some even further east, with a larger Germanic part¡ the residence was first Reims, then Metz. Neustria (Niwister, Nen-Westland) included the western part and the political core of the Merovingian empire, which the Franks had conquered since the year of the Holy Roman Empire, i.e. largely the former territory of **Syagrius,** stretching **from the** Loire to the Seine and Flanders. This -Francia- in the angelic sense, with a predominantly Romanesque population and the main cities of Soissons and later Paris, belonged to Cliilperich I; the Ncustrians themselves also preferred to call themselves Franci, their country Francia. 8urgundy was considerably expanded compared to the old Burgundy, **Chalon-** sur-Saone was Guntram's preferred royal seat. However, Aquitaine and Provence also became secret.

The dismemberment of the Chariberterbes had a notch more
This resulted in civil wars for supremacy. The bloody conflicts between the brothers did not cease until Sigibcrt's ted, who also led fierce bands, the savagery of the bru1crs, from the right bank of the Rhine against the good Catholic Neustria. Seir y6a, when Sigibert had his first clashes with the Avars near the Elbe, Chilpcrich, the youngest and perhaps most agile of the brothers, who resided in **Soissons,** made incursions into the Eastern Empire and tried to win over Reims, Tours and Poitiers, -by vcrheerizing and preparing everything.

(Gregory of Tours); while Sigibert, the patron of St. Meardus, the patron saint of the diocese of Soissons, attacked the imperial districts of Soissons and Paris, had most of the villages around Paris plundered and incinerated, the inhabitants dragged off into captivity and, forgetfully, stretched out his hand to the Provençal capital of Arles, which belonged to Brother Guntram. But the local bishop Sabaudus, a worthy shepherd of the Lord, lured Sigiberi's army in, cunningly lured it back outside the gates, so that it was -hit in the back by the enemy's spears urtd from the front was covered with stones thrown by the townsfolk ...- {Gregory of Tours)'

The battle between the brothers Chilperich and Sigibert was exacerbated by a family tragedy that became part of the Nibelung saga.

°... worthy of a mESSALiNA and GRIPPINA"

Around *y66,* Sigibeit of Reims had married Brunichild, the daughter of the Visigoth king Athsnagild, and about a year later Chilperich of Soissons married her older sister Galswintha. However, Chilperich, who had previously lost his wife Audovera and -already had several wives-, had the homesick Galswintha, the former Arian who had just -converted to the orthodox church-, strangled to death by one of his crea- tures soon after the wedding. He then married his former mistress Frcdcgunde, leaving Edie dead for only a few days" {Gregor). This led to their enmity between the two queens, -women worthy of Messalina and Agrippina- (Mühlbachcr), and to a ruthless blood feud between the kings of Reims and Soissons.

Fredegunde, who had risen to the rank of queen as a former freedwoman (-'ex familia infima-) and apparently completely dominated the king, became a splendid example of the era. She was the close and longtime friend of Bishop Egidius of Reims, a

of the most active politicians in Au$tria, is also the occasional protégé of Bishop Ragnemond of Paris and at the same time a murder expert of the highest order, a Christian for whom the liquidation of kings is almost the order of the day, one of the most diabolical Furies in world history, ruling almost exclusively with blackmail, torture, daggers and poison.

Together with King Chilpcrich, she gradually has several dozen influential adversaries murdered. Without scruples, rather with deep satisfaction, she goes over dead bodies. She has her victims incarcerated, tortured for a long time and, of course, robbed of their treasures again and again. 5 She has them hanged, burned and poisoned; she has the hands and feet of a priest who fails her murder order cut off; she has Bishop Prae- rexratus killed, as well as her stepson Chlodovech and his mother Audovera. She is also said to be responsible for the assassination of King Sigibert, to whom the murderers she hired, s7I
on the King's Ho£ vitry, "in icde side a tüchriges Idcsscr - Scramasax", which was moreover -put in poison- (Gre- gor). She is even said to have caused the death of Chilperich, her own husband, and her stepson Merovech. Only the king prevents her from giving birth to her son Samson immediately after his birth, but the child dies when he is barely two years old. In Tournay, she settles an entire family feud by liquefying the heads of the clans. She single-handedly assassinates her daughter Rigunthe, sends out a spiritual assassin against Brunichild, and sends two more scouts with poisoned daggers to Brunichild and Childebcrt. At one point, twelve of Fredegunde's creatures came to the catholic royal court, where clerics and laymen alike had their ears cut off "to the mockery of the people. Many killed themselves out of fear of the ordeal. -Some also died under torture." King Guntram escaped the "envoys" of Fredegunde, who, after all, when she fled to Paris with her treasures, enjoyed the apron of Bishop Ragnemond - a noble Christian attitude. Gregory of Tours lists in detail the crimes of the -inimica Dei atque hominum-, which finally, when

Wicwe, leading more and more in the New Kingdom, fought for the recognition of her underage son Chlotar (TI.) by all means up to her death.

CHILPERICH I. - R I **G HTS AND SACRED SONGS**

In the increasingly escalating battles between Chilperich, who above all wanted direct access to his Aquitanian exclaves, and Sigibert, who sought a larger share of the Neustrian royal estate, the latter initially allied himself with Guntram, who reigned over Burgundy first in Orléans and later in Chalon sur Saone, where he built the Church of St. Marcellus. Guntram was particularly devoted to the church and became a saint because of his many donations to the clergy and the calling of councils (feast: March 8). However, the pious prince, as cruel as he was cowardly, proved to be an unreliable patron and, repeatedly breaking his word, sometimes went over to one brother and sometimes to the other. Thus ei$_{573}$ fTHt Sigibert came into conflict over Provence, and now
Guntram (who also operated against the Lombards) joined forces with the
and the conquered Alpine territories to the Frankish-Burgundian Church) with Chilperich of Soissons and once again fought Sigibcrt of Rcims. Searing and burning, Chilperich's son Theudebert marched through the region of Tours, Limoges, Cahors and the other towns there, "ravaging and destroying them, incinerating the churches, stealing the sacred vessels, killing the clergy, destroying the Marian monasteries, ravishing the women and devastating everything. At that time there was more lamentation in the churches than during the persecution of Diocletianus (Gregory of Tours).

In the mid-seventies, Chilpcrich again undertakes a devastating campaign against Sigiberr's realm, advancing as far as Reims, and Sigibert, as he had done once before, moves with pagan Stainmes units from east of the Rhine, against

Neustria. He occupies Paris and drives his brother back to Tournai. But there, shortly before the sitg, almost at the moment of his triumph - Chilperich's warriors had already gone over to him.

Sigibert, aged forty, in the winter of7 y if1 Vitry (Artois), succumbs to an assassination attempt with poisoned daggers (quos vul- go scramasaxos vocant) by two servants of Chilperich cind Fredegunde. -Then he cried out loudly, collapsed and breathed his last not long afterwards' (Gregory of Tours). Sigibert's widow Brunichild was robbed by Chilperich and i m p r i s o n e d in a monastery in Rouen, while her daughters were held captive in Meaux.

The elimination of the Rcgent of Reims brought the longed-for turnaround for the murderers, bringing success after success. In the confusion that erupted, Chilpe- rich seized the disputed territories and now ruled over two lands from Paris, one inherited and one belonging to his brother Charibcrt. The entire western half of the Frankish kingdom was under his control. The king, who was only interested in his conquests, power and money, sold the bishoprics to the highest bidders and brutally collected taxes, which is why an uprising broke out in Limoges, which he put down with great severity; in his contempt for human life, he was like Caesar Borgia or any other Italian ruler of the Renaissance (Cartellieri).

It is clear that such a man is also devoted to Christianity, He was also the author of a theological treatise on the Holy Trinity and spiritual hymns. And even if he rejected the dogrria of the Trinity as anrhropomorphic nonsense and declared that 'the Father and the Son are the same, just as the Holy Spirit is the same as with the Father and the Son'; even if the words attributed to him by Gregory -'No one reigns but the bishops, our glory is gone ...." attributed to him by Gregory may have been exaggerated and may not even have been uttered; even if in his wars against Sigibert he had the Christian temples razed, monasteries plundered and destroyed and nuns defiled, the Church still enjoyed every freedom in all religious matters. The result was

sdtze to formal episcopal dynasties, as in Tours. The bishop even presided over the court alongside the count. Just as the officials of the state and the kings themselves generally submitted to the moral judgment of the bishops and their spiritual discipline.

The five-year-old son of the daggered Sigibert, Childebert I - l575*59d), had only just escaped his father's fate and was brought to safety in Austrian by Duke Gundowald.
had been brought to the city. There, the Greats elevated him to the rank of king, and Hausmeier Gogo ruled for him. Apparently, however, the heir to the throne, who died after two assassination attempts at the age of about z6, perhaps by poison, remained a tool of King Guntram to the end, who adopted him as the senior of the dynasty, after the death of his own sons as son and heir, he also remained a tool of his mother Brunichild.

In Rouen, she married Merovech, Chilperich's son from his first marriage to Audovera. The metropolitan of Rouen, Bishop Praetextatus, entrusted Merovech, his baptized child, with his aunt, contrary to ecclesiastical law, and apparently together with him attempted a genuine overthrow of the throne, if not planned murder (Covenant). In the second session of the Council of Paris *S* y2i, King Chilperich also accused Bishop Praetextatus of stealing valuable jewelry and yooo solidi in gold from him. In the third session, the prince of the church (who was then whipped, banished to an island and i8y murdered in a church) confessed to having planned an attempt on the king's life. But before the conspirators were able to make political use of their plot, Merovech, probably at the instigation of his stepmother Fredegunde, was excluded from the lsfachfolge, yy6 arrested, pushed and demoted to presbyter. On the way to the monastery of Anisola (S. Calais), his follower Gailen freed him, but y77 -r §y8, surrounded by enemies on another escape, he asked Gailen to kill him, whereupon he, who did not hesitate to do so, had his hands, feet, nose and ears cut off and was further tortured and liquidated. Also

Many of Merovech's companions were martyred. The main instigators of the attack are said to have been Bishop Egidius of Rheims (who consecrated St. Gregory as bishop) and Duke Gunthram Boso (a scheming gangster, over whose killing Bishop Agerich of Verdun then multiplied). And Mern- vech's young brother w a s also a victim of Fredegunde.'°

yyy Brunichild was able to escape Chilperich's captivity and flee to the Eastern Empire, to the territory of her son Childebert II, whom she induced to form an alliance with Guntram. But y8i Brurtichild's followers fell victim to an uprising in Reims, where Metropolitan Egidius, the bishop who was involved in intrigues, conspiracies and treason, seized the government at the head of a number of great men. And since Chilperich was advancing without nedics and was the strong Maxn, the prince of the church and his fellow agents approached the successful man; Bishop Egidius himself led the envoys to him. At the same time, the Reiiiis frondeurs fell out with King Guntram, whose Charibert inheritance in Aquitaine 58i was conquered by Chilperich's commander De- siderius, so that Chilperich now possessed the entire kingdom of his s 7 deceased brother.

However, when the king prepared to seize Guntram's land with the help of the Reimser €lberläufer, a formal alliance with the Austrians, in order to crimp Guntram's army, a change of course occurred in Austrian, due to an outcry of the minor populus against the alliance, but this time in favor of Brunichild, who was probably behind it, and Chilperich had to back down. At the beginning of the year s 4 °c, Guntram installs his nephew in Marseilles. And

In the same year, Chilperich was killed one night in his home near Paris.

He was killed by several hlessersriche after returning home from the hunt. -Thus he ended a very cruel life with a corresponding death" (Fredegar). Chilpcrich also left behind an underage son, the not yet one-year-old Chlotar II, for whom his mother Frcde- gundc now sought to assert the regiment."

OU R RALATES AND HIGH NOBLES PUSH AT THE LAUGHS

Chilperich, for Gregory of Tours the "Nero and Herod of his time", may have been the victim of conspiratorial aristocratic circles of all parts of the empire, but perhaps also that of his wife Fredegundc. After all, she had deceived him to such an extent that her son Chlo- rer was only regarded as a Merovingian prince after she had sworn Chilperich's paternity with more than yoo female and clerical oath keepers, including three chief shepherds. And after the death of both brothers at the hands of murderers, the battle between their wives continued to rage - even though (or because?) so many sinister figures had left the stage in the meantime."

Chilperich's sons from his first marriage to Audovera had already passed away. Theudebert had fallen in the war and his body had been mangled on the battlefield. Merovech drove Fredegunde's Hetzc to his death. Her last 5stepson Chlodovech ended up on a plague-infested estate. He survived there, was accused of sorcery, hanged and stabbed to death in 58o. His lover, her mother and Chlodovech's own mother Audovera succumbed to horrible tortures, while his sister Basina disappeared in the monastery of Poitiers. Freed of her worst enemies, Fredegunde was now able to enter the political fray with her son Chlorar, staging several assassination attempts on King Guntrani, Childebert and Bruni Child, whose thwarted killers she had mutilated, enraged by the failure of Attenrac.

But the mastermind of the conspiracy against the East Franconian dynasty was Bishop Egidius von Rcims, whose treasury was overflowing with gold and silver. One night there was an uprising. The "minor populus" rose up against him and the king's dukes because they were "buying his kingdom, bringing his cities under the rule of another". J'vtan sought to seize the chief shepherd, the optimals; Egidius fled, leaving all his companions behind him, -and so great was his fear that when a boot fell off his foot, he did not even t a k e enough time to put it back on.

Accused of bribery (-two thousand pieces of gold and many valuables-), of high treason, of instigating a civil and fratricidal war, especially by the abbot Epiphanius, -who always knew about all his secret plans-, Bishop Egidius finally admitted, after constant denials, "to have deserved the yod as a majesty criminal-, -as I have always acted against the mohI of the king and his mother and on my advice oh battles have been waged, which devastated many!Ego was deposed at the Council of Metz and condemned to death, but after the intervention of the badly bruised prelates he was banished by Childebcrt to Strasbourg. Abbot Epiphanius, however, was removed from office."

At the time of Sigibert's death, his dignitaries, led by Bishop Egidius, who had gone over to Chilperich, many of his grandees swung over to Sigibert's son Childebert on Chilperich's death.

Born at Easter, baptized at Pentecost, elevated to king at Christmas, Childebcrt II. {yyyy-ypd) appeared at the Merovingian court like a kind of "promise of a happy closeness to God" (Karl Hauck). (Bishop Agerich of Verdun, Childebert's godfather, benefited particularly from this. Although he was unable to cast out the unclean spirit of a girl, he was allegedly able to impress the young king with a miracle - a multiplication of wine - to such an extent that he made him considerable gifts). On the other hand, Chilperich's widow, whom many high-ranking people were now abandoning, went to live with her four-month-old son in Bishop Ragnemond of Paris. And soon the King of Burgundy arrived there, summoned by ihc in the fall of y8q - the only one of the four sons of Chlotar I still alive. St. Guntram also promised Frcdegunde his protection, but immediately ousted her son from the -cathedra re- gni" and passed the greater part of Charibe's inheritance.'^

The Merovingian dynasty itself was weakened by the increasingly desolate **situation** in the various kingdoms, the kings' continued wars and raids, and their struggle for supremacy, but the class of feudal landlords was weakened,

especially the upper class, the high aristocracy, was strengthened. They no longer felt dependent on the kingship, **but rather** hindered by it, js, the kings increasingly needed the high nobility and gradually became dependent on it. As with the rulers, armed conflicts, occupations of counties and bishoprics, and the forcible appropriation of land and labor were almost commonplace among the greats. And as their lands were widely scattered, often in several parts of the empire, they could sometimes go over to this king, sometimes to that. The leading families in particular took advantage of the rapidly growing anarchy, expanded their possessions, increased their clout and thus moved more and more to the fore until they finally o v e r t h r e w the kings themselves, who were weakened by constant power struggles."

GUNDOWA LDS REVOLT AND EPISCOPAL DEFECTORS

With Chilperich's death, his entire regiment collapsed abruptly. The leaderships'• 5 4 v temporarily passed t o the Burgundian kingdom. However, King Gunrram came into conflict with the pretender Gundowald in southern Gaul, who claimed to be a He may have been the son of Chlotar I - perhaps he came from one of the king's peaceful marriages. In any case, both Chlotar and his son Sigibert had cut off his long hair. Now, however, the Australian traitors brought him back i n t o t h e picture.

From his exile in Cologne, the apparently imprisoned Gunthram Dowald (before 568) fled to Narses in Italy and later to Constantinople. There, in 58i, an envoy led by Duke Gunthram Boso, a highly intelligent Hellen, invited him to Gaul. Richly endowed by Emperor Tiberius I, Gundowald landed in Marseilles in September §8z. Shabbily betrayed by Gunthrem Boso, he first had to take refuge on a Pocovencian island, but then, especially in the south, he found a place to stay.

and the west of the empire, the increasing importance of the high nobility, which was to become historically decisive, was already having an effect.

Gundowald's revolt was welcomed by many. Princes and counts, especially from Neustria and Burgundy, but also from Austria, joined him: Desiderius, for example, the Duke of Toulouse, and Duke Bladast, two of Chilperich's great 1.¡ Eunius Mummolus, a duke of King Guntram and his best commander; Gunthram Boso, the Duke of Childebert 11.i Waddo, the household of the king's daughter Rigunthe. But many prelates also changed camps.

Immediately after Gundowald landed in Marseille, Theodorus, the local bishop, welcomed him with open arms, gave him the largest estates and even provided him with a troop of cavalry. The bishops Nicasius of Angouleme and Antidius of Agen also went over to Gundowald. A bishop Epiphanius {with an unknown diocese) also joined him and therefore came to Hafr through Guntram, where he died after much suffering. He gave rich gifts and soon ruled almost all of Aquitaine. Bishop Sagittarius of Gap was one of his closest confidants. Similarly, Bishop Bertram of Bordeaux, who was a close friend of the usurper Gundowald, according to Gregory of Tours, was related (maternally) to King Guntram, which is why the latter accused him of having brought the foreign plague (pestem extra- neam) upon his own clan. (Bishop Bertram of Bordeaux was also a close friend of Queen Fredegunde; she is said to have been greatly comforted by the church *feeder.* He and Bishop Palladius of Saintes accused each other of fornication, adultery and perjury at the royal table, to the amusement of many). And Bishop Palladius of Saintes, who had often betrayed the king by committing triple perjury, and the Abbot of Cahors, whom Guntram later had imprisoned, also supported the rebels.

After Fredegar, especially Bishop Syagrius of Antun and Bishop Flavius of Chalon-sur-Saone.'*

In December 58q, the pretender was proclaimed king in Briyes-la-Gaillarde (Limousin) by raising his shield. However, at the beginning of the following year, Guntram and Childebert Bl., who had reached the age of majority of i5 years, once again came together. The senior of the Merovingian dynasty renewed Childebert's appointment as his heir, prepared an army and advanced into Basque territory. In the far south of Aquitaine, in St-Bertrand-de-Comminges (Lug- dunum Convenarum) in the foothills of the Pyrenees, Gundowald was besieged, betrayed again by his followers, led by Duke Eunius Mummolus and Bishop Sagittarius, and treacherously killed during an attempted breakout. According to Fredegar, Guntram's sword bearer Cariatto, "who had promoted this cause, received the bishop's see of Geneva as a reward". Gundowald's body was desecrated and left unburied.

The traitors, the foremost men in the city, brought all the treasures, including the sacred church furnishings, and then had the gates opened. Guntiam's army then broke in and slaughtered -The priests of the Lord and their assistants were killed at the altars of the churches themselves. After everyone had been killed so that no male remained, the entire city, including the churches and other buildings, was set on fire, leaving nothing there but the bare ground." The deed of St. Guntram (feast: a8th March), who nevertheless maintained the best relations with the bishops, is characterized by Gregory of Tours as "kind and always inclined to mercy", who is celebrated as -king and priest. In fact, however, Guntrairi could be merciless against rebellious or unruly great men and have them slain or stoned to death without investigation. He now took over a large part of Aquitaine and judged the apostate secular greats harshly, but remarkably mildly the likewise apostate Pralateri. He had the general Eunius Mummo Ius and Bishop Sagittarius killed."

KING GUNTRAM PROVES HIS HOLINESS

These Catholic princes did not shy away from destroying churches in battle, as Bishop Gregory often testified. In 583, Chilpcrich's dukes Desiderius and Bladast (the latter "even often cohabited in the porch of the church of St. Hilarius in Poitiers) devastated the territory of the episcopal city of Bourgesj, which allegedly threw ty ooo men into the battle, in a massive bloodbath, so that more than seven thousand fell on both sides. With the rest of the army, the dukes advanced as far as the city itself, plundering and devastating everything, and such devastation was wrought there as has not been heard of since ancient times. No house, no vineyard, no tree was spared, everything was cut down, burned and destroyed. They also took the consecrated vessels from the churches and set fire to the churches themselves. y85 St. Guntram's troops attacked the church of St. Guntram. Vincent at Agen, full of treasures of all kinds that belonged to the inhabitants of the city. They had hoped that Christians would not violate the church of such a great martyr. But the doors were carefully locked. When the army arrived and was unable to open the doors of the church, they immediately set fire to it, and when this had consumed the gates, they took away all the possessions and equipment they found there, and even the holy church utensils.- And in conquered Comminges, the same Catholic soldiery stabbed the priests and their servants at the altars of the churches and set them ablaze. In Guntram's country, in the regions along the Saône and the Rhone, the churches were also robbed and the priests killed."

As I said: holy. A saint of whom Gregory once wrote that he constantly spoke of God, of the building of churches; but who also fulfilled the last wish of his wife, Queen Austrichilde, namely to kill with the sword the doctors who could not help her. Still in extremis, she demanded comrades on the dead with heavy sighs.

bed, demanded an oath from her husband, her death -must not go unnoticed, and this pious Christian oath will be fulfilled **punctually** by the **good King Gunrram**," **says the equally** good Daniel-Rops and thus sees this hair-raising breach -spiced with grim humor. According to Fredegar, the doctors were even subjected to "multiple tortures" (diversis poenis) by royal order. St. Guntram also had the sons of Magnachar, a Frankish great, executed and, of course, all their assets confiscated for the crown treasury, just because they spoke blasphemous things about a queen who was also described by Bishop Gregory as a "shameful woman" with a "shameful soul."

After Gundowald's elimination, the rebellious Optimals in Austrasia and Neustria continued to oppose Guntram, Brunichild and the now mature Childebett, who had made the Moselle city of Metz his headquarters instead of Reims. Several assassination attempts on Guntram and the queen failed. And after the birth of Childebert's sons Theudebert and Theuderich y86 and 5 7 planets of Austrasian conspirators Childebert's removal and the elevation of his children. The revolutionaries led by Duke Rauching of Champagne naturally included Bishop Egidius of Reims. But Guntram, who was to be deposed, got wind of the matter and Childebert, informed by him, put a stop to it. He ordered Rauching to come to him, and immediately after the audience, two doormen tore him down by the legs as he was leaving the kaum. -Immediately those who had been ordered to do so and were already standing by threw themselves at him with nurses and chopped up his head so that it looked like a mass of brains.'- Rauching's treasures, allegedly greater than those of the king, were seized by him.

The royal family, Childebert II, his wife Faileuba, his mother Brunichild and uncle Guntram then met at the border of their two lands in the Palatinate of Findelot and signed a treaty on the z8. November 5 7, a hereditary fraternization, a pact that guaranteed solidarity between the Franco-Burgundian and Australian

It strengthened the ruling dynasty, settled various property disputes and the question of succession; the surviving uncle or nephew was to rule in the other's realm, as were his descendants.

The Verdrag of Andelot had primarily internal political consequences. However, Guntram also became involved in all kinds of foreign political developments, particularly with the Lombards and the Visigoths.

Between *$6Q* and s75, for example, the defensive saint had already repeatedly driven back the Lombard hordes that were attacking over the western Alperi passes. They plundered, singeén
and burned everything they could reach on these unprepared raids into Provence and southern Burgundy. They were almost wiped out several times, especially by Cuntrafn's *f'eldhexzn* Eunius Mutnmolus,
>'* i7* 'ninitten der Wälder bei Embrun dutch ein fränkisches Hetr, in dem auch die Bischöfe von Embrun und Gap persönlich mitgegämpft und -viele getötet haben". Another time
Mummolus in Provence, according to St. Gregory, -many thousands of them and he did not stop the bloodshed until the evening, when night finally put an end to the killing. The Franks did not fight without corresponding territorial expansions to the south, Guntram annexed the neighboring territory of northern Italy to his empire as well as two bishoprics of the Franconian kingdom, the already existing bishopric of Aosta and Saint-Jean-de-Maurienne, which he had founded. The bishopric of Willis followed a little later."

PäPSTLiCHx K RiEG SWÜN SCHE

At the time, Pelagius reigned in Rome !!!- T57AS9-)---later at the Plague died. Just as the Lombards were destroying the city
he had become pope. And so he hastened to summon both Emperor Tibg€loS 157 *i -) uin aid, as well as the

King Guntram. The Arian invaders were not only fighting the Roman Empire, but also the Roman Church and hierarchy associated with it (far from the Catholic faith). And they sought the unification of Italy with Rome as its capital. But this would have deprived the Pope of his eiiifiuB; he would only h a v e been primate of a national church. This led to the first papal request for war against the Franks. This was to s e t a precedent ...

At the time, Pe- lagius announces relics to the Frankish bishop Aunachar of Auxerre, but also urgently demands the enrolment of the Frankish kings in favor of Rome. He was upset about the Lombard idolaters and wrote that it would have been appropriate for you other members of the Catholic Church, united as one body under the leadership of one head, to hasten with all your strength to the aid of o u r peace and tranquillity f o r the sake of the unity of the Holy Spirit. For not in vain {otiosum], rather we consider it most admirably ordained by divine providence that your kings are equal to the Roman Empire in the confession of the right faith; namely, so that neighborly helpers have arisen for this city and the whole of Italy. Beware therefore, beloved brother, lest, when your kings a r e given power by God to help us, your love be found wanting …- And emphasize again in conclusion: -We exhort you, then, that you free the shrines of the apostles, whose power you seek, from the visitation of the Gentiles, as much and as quickly as you are able, and that you urge your kings, that they may hasten to detach themselves from the friendship and alliance of the wicked enemy, the Lombards, with salutary counsel, so that when the time of vengeance comes for them, as we quickly expect from God's mercy, they may not be found to be the Cii's playmates.""

However, neither the letter nor the relics had any effect. The Franks were prevented from intervening due to the worsening fighting in their own country.

Pelagius also had to deal with more than just the Lombards.

that godless nation, as he wrote to his successor Gregory 58d in Constantinople, a l t h o u g h the Lombards had long been Christianized {p. io6). Pelagius also called the Staar to his aid against the chief shepherd of Foru m Sempronii (Fossombrone). First he wanted to banish the unruly bishop to a monastery, then the magister militum Johannes was to take him to Rome by force. The bishops of Veneto and Lstria also opposed the pope. They stubbornly persisted in the schismatic positions they had held since the time of Miir.

Pope VigiliilS (4^7 ff., esp. 4'7 ff.) and the Tricapitular Controversy. Thus Pelagius also wanted to persuade Narses and other generals to support the powerful archbishops of Milan.

and Aquileia to send the highest-ranking priests of the north, who shunned intercourse with him, to Rome or to the emperor. However, the papal efforts in several letters from Gregory, the future pope, who justified the condemnation of the Drri chapters in detail, were unsuccessful. Despite repeated -police measures- which -emphasized the papal admonitionsii ... ("Lexikon für Theo- logie und Kirche-), the northern Italian schism continued, even beyond the pontificate of his famous successor.'^

y83 Pelagius II summoned the Franks once again. And now war broke out, especially as the recently crowned Eastern emperor Mauricius (58z-6oz) renewed his earlier alliance with the Franks against the Lombards. The Byzantine, whom Pelagius also asked for military help, paid King Childebert II, this unscrupulous son of Sigibert, who could not be swayed by any treaty, the considerable sum o f yo ooo gold solidi to drive out the Lombards. This was followed by a seven-year war, albeit occasionally interrupted (y '-seal

At first the king s 4 * *'en eirl, the Langobardeii vowed an annual tribute of iz ooo solidi, and Childe- btrt returned home. Emperor Maurikios wanted his money back, but "did not even get an answer- {Paulus

deacon), let alone his money. However, another move took place in 58y. However, as Childebert had intentions against the Visigoths, he quickly reconciled with the Lombards and even betrothed his sister Chlodoswinda to their king Authari, who gave him rich gifts. However, when the next year, $8f, the king of the Wcstgoths, Rekkared, became Catholic (p. <4 i. with which the foreign policy -stood at the goal of its wishes" (Büttner), changed Childebert, however, apparently out of religious consideration, changed his plans. He now betrothed his sister Chlodoswinda, who had just been engaged to the Arian Lombard Authari, to the Catholic Rekkared and sent Gcsandt< to Byzantium to announce the continuation of the Lombard war."

Childebert also tried to mobilize his uncle Guntram against the Lombards. Although Guntram refused, Childebert and Brunichild nevertheless equipped an expeditionary force, sending letters not only to the emperor but also, significantly, to the bishops of Constantinople and Melitene and the apocrisy of the papal see in Constantinople. Another letter to the Archbishop of Milan asked him to inform the Exarch of Ravenna of the impending military campaign so that he could make preparations against the Lombards. The latter, however, wanted to prevent the conflict and sent a legation with gifts to Childebert: -Peace be between us: do not destroy us, and we will submit to you and pay a certain tribute.- But the Franks marched and suffered such a defeat then, they, according to Gregory, -that no similar one can be remembered since ancient times-.-- Soon afterwards, however, they invaded Italy again with a large contingent of twenty dukes - plundering and murdering, however, like the Crusader armies later, already there and there *at* home in such a way that one could think they were carrying the war into their own **country** - {Gregory). In Italy, on the other hand, in alliance with the Exarch of Ravenna, they were only partially successful, although their invasion was no longer a localized council campaign, but apparently a well-planned war on two fronts.

Through a far-reaching pincer movement, they sought to put an **end to** the Lombards and reconquer the territories once occupied by Theudebert I {p. q5 ff.). Although they **won** the open areas of northern Italy in several battles, as well as a number of castles, they also dragged **away** many prisoners**,** but lost most of the fortified cities, especially Pavia, and suffered from dysentery, famine and returned worn out by disease and hardship. It was paid for almost thirty years until Chlotar II, 6-7 i 8 replaced it with a one-off payment of three times the annual tribute.

The outstanding political event in the eleven-year pontificate of Pelagius was the conversion of the Arian Visigoths in Spain to Catholicism under King Reccared. And while the Ostrogoths, the East Germanic brother people, were eradicated from history by the Catholic rulers, the Visigoths, having become Catholic, began to exterminate more and more themselves.

6. KAfiTEL

THE VISIGOTHS BECOME CATHOLIC

• No other country in the western world has been so profoundly and sustainably shaped by Christianity wie Spanien.» William Culican'

-ln the catholic critc, the hispann-rnmanisr clcrus gained an overriding influence ... The excellent culture of the high Tolcdanian clergy and the maueled character of the rulers, who were eager to follow the decisions of the Council of Toledo, were the natural causes of these practical forms of reform…– Antonio Bxllcsteros y Beretta'

THE FOUNDATION OF THE S PANISH W£STGOTENREICH

After the defeat at Ppitiers 5oy by Clovis (p. 7 -1, theTolosan Empire c o l l a p s e d , and the Visigoths, almost completely driven out of southern France, concentrated on Spain, where they had conquered one province after another. Since 4zi, with the exception of the small Suebi kingdom in the northwest and the Basque regions on the Bay of Biscay, the entire country. Instead of Toulouse, Toledo became their new capital.

Although the Visigoths had also long b e e n Christians, they had, according to Gregory of Tours, "adopted the abominable habit of killing a king who did not suit them and installing the king they liked. In fact, regicide was rampant here, murder and manslaughter were "the order of the day" (Claude). A total of j5 Visigothic kings were -7 killed or deposed. After the end of Eurich's dynasty jumped over the blade one after the other, in the marketplace, in the palace, at the banquet, Amalarich 53z, Theud'- s4 . Theudegisel yqq.

The Catholic Church, however, was regarded as a perfectly legitimate religious community and was able to develop freely in religious terms. Although a heretic, writes Bishop Isidore of Scvilla about Theudis, he granted peace to the church and even gave the Catholic bishops permission … to decree in freedom and *according to* Gurdüiiken what was necessary for the church's growth - with the exception of Eurich, these Arian kings were tolerant, as was Theudegisel's successor Agila. But 55i rebelled against him, especially protected by the catho1i-'

The Gothic nobleman Athanagild, the Romeruim of the 5outh. And since he was unable to prevail in the civil war against the king, he summoned the troops of the Caiolian emperor Justinian, whom he was subsequently unable to remove from the kingdom despite his efforts. The battles with them have c o n t i n u e d t o this day, writes Bishop Isidore.

As early as the summer of 5yz, an expeditionary army landed under the patricius Liberius. It soon occupied the entire south-east of Spa-

nia, Málaga, Cartagena, Córdoba. 5i4 *The king of Seville, together with Athanagild, was severely defeated by King Agila, who was finally assassinated by his followers in Emerira (Mérida) in the spring of y5y in order to

to Athanagild (y5y-56y), the first real counter-king in Visigothic history. Shortly before Athanagild, who was now himself fighting vigorously against his previous allies, the Ostriim, died in Toledo in]uni y6y, the first Visigothic king since Euric in bed, he married his two daughters Bruennichild and Galswintha to the Catholic Merovingians Sigibert of Rheims and Chilperich of Soissons for the sake of peace with the Franks (S, ir8).

Athanagild's successor Liuwa I, e l e v a t e d to king by the Gothic greats at the end of y7 ' septiman Narbonne, named his brother Leowigild (y6a- ge) just one year later.

as successor, indeed co-ruler, and after LÍUW8S's death he becomes sole ruler (57°). However, the very next year he made his sons Hermenegild and Rekkared co-rulers.

The Arian Leowigild did not succeed in re-establishing the Visigothic kingship without a corresponding bruralitdt. Catholic chroniclers may well believe this. -Bishop Isidore writes: "He either killed the most powerful and most powerful or he confiscated their wealth, respected them and sent them into exile. And Grcgor of Tours claims: -Leowigild killed all those who had been accustomed to eliminate the kings and left nothing that was manly.-'

The Christian ruler led the year u< J hr Krl 5757* he pushed back the eastern rulers, the Byzantine occupations in the south-east.s7* he conquered Córdoba. Then he wrestled a

tribe after tribe and stifled any regional independence. Type he subjugated Cantabria, y8i he conquered Basque territories, y8} he destroyed the Suebi kingdom'.

THE CATHOLICIZATION OF THE SUEBI

The Suebi, initially living in the Havel and Spree regions, were first mentioned by Caesar and were led by their king Hermeric in the year4 s. to Spain with the Alans and Vandals.
come. Here they formed their own kingdom in the north and northwest with the Roman province of Gallaecia {Galicia) as its center. **EfSt** tt‹5 **became** Catholic under King Rechiar,
they changed in a century and a half, from which we are very know little about them, they changed denomination four more times, became Arian, Catholic, Arian again, until, merging with the Visigoths, they finally c o n v e r t e d y8q to Catholicism.

The frequent change of faith shows how little importance the denomination had for the Suebi. As pagans they did not persecute Christianity, as Arians they did not persecute Catholics. And as Catholics, they waged wars like the pagans or Arians.
first Catholic king, Rechia- l44&' ö), married an Arian princess, a daughter of Theodoric I, and undertook even more campaigns and raids than his pagan father. He
He ravaged and plundered the Basque country, the region of Zara- goza, the province of Carthaginicnsis and, on several occasions and particularly terribly, **Tarraco-** ncnsis, breaking a peace treaty and carrying away large numbers of Ge/Angeneri. Finally, he was defeated and executed by the Visigoth Theodoric 11, who had repeatedly approached him.

In the year4s7 , the Visigoths also killed the Suebi governor they had appointed, the Varnian Agiwulf, as he was trying to gain independence. His opponent, the Suebi king
Maldra, a fratricide, was murdered between 4i - - 46o

probably by his nephew Frumari, whom Maldra's son Remismund then tried to kill again, albeit in vain.'°

A cheerful Christianity, as everywhere. Even among the Visigoths, where Lcowigild oppressed the oppressed, rebellious 8auern, where h e plundered, conquered and incorporated all around.

THE ARIAN LEOWIGI LD
AND **THE CATHOLIC** O PPOSITION

But Leowigild, this last Arian Visigoth king, also strengthened the power of the crown. He improved the coinage system, revised the laws, added missing ones and removed superfluous ones. He was the first Germanic prince to found cities - he named the most important one Reccapolis (on the upper Tagus) after his 5 son Rekkared. In eight decades of rule, he reunited the already crumbling Visigothic empire. Even the h!. Istdor of Seville, who would like to attribute Leowigild's successes to the favor of fate and the bravery of his army, admits that the Goths, hitherto confined to a small area in Spain, now owned the largest part of it. -Only the error of heresy obscured the glory of such valor." That, of course, was the crucial point: -the pernicious poison of this doctrine-, the -deadly pestilence of heresy." - Enraged by the fury of Arian unbelief, he persecuted the Catholics and banished the majority of the bishops. He deprived the churches of their income and privileges, drove many to join the Arian pestilence by means of scare tactics, and won over even more without persecution through gold and gifts. He even **dared** to re-baptize Catholics, not only laymen but also members of the priesthood, such as Vincentius of Caesaraugusta, who was turned from a bishop into an apostate and was, so to speak, converted from a bishop to an apostate. Heaven was hurled into hell.""

In reality, Leowigild long pursued a policy of détente towards the fundamentally intolerant Catholicism that was still gaining ground in the Visigothic Empire. Many monasteries were founded under him and many Catholic churches were built. The king personally endowed Abbot Nanctus, who had relocated from Africa, and his monks with land. Indeed, he even accommodated the Catholics theologically by making concessions on the doctrine of the Trinity.

Not enough. He prayed in their churches and at the graves of their martyrs. Obviously, the aim was to achieve a peaceful equilibrium ... was to be sought- (Haendler). If these attempts at mediation remained unsuccessful, he could also react sharply and withdraw income and property from Catholic churches in favor of Arian churches. He then only turned against the clergy, not against Catholics as a whole. And the most severe demonstrable punishment was not execution, as Gregory of Tours claimed, but exile. Even in the years of the Catholic Rebellion, between 58o and y8y, the Romana retigio suffered considerable but not decisive losses."

Leowigild, who had two sons from his first marriage, married Her- menegild in s79 to the young Frankish princess Ingunde, a daughter of King Sigibert 1 of Metz and Brunichild. When she and her sister Galswintha from the Visigothic royal house married the Frankish kings Sigibert 1 and Chilperich J, both Ariancian women became Catholics. Naturally, it was expected that the Catholic Ingunde would adopt the Arian faith. But when the twelve-year-old married the Visigoths at the beginning of i79

had barely crossed the border when Phronimius, the Bishop of the Septimanian Agde, and warned them never to defile themselves with the poison of the heretical faith.'* The Catholics did not cease to pity those who had been married at the court of Toledo. As so often before, the confessional antagonism endangered (and divided) the Western Gothic Empire. Hermenegild's mother was the daughter of the commander Severianus in Carthaginiensis, the Byzantine and fervently Catholic southern province. His uncles were the three Catholic

Leander, Fulgentius and Isidot of Seville. But Leo-wigild's second wife, Goswintha, widow of his predecessor Athanagild (p. i go), a zealous Arian, immediately tried to convert Jn-gunde to Arianism; at first in a very friendly manner, but finally, according to Gregory, with hands and feet. She kicked them bloody and had them thrown into a fishpond at night. Leowigild himself mediated and separated the disputants by removing the young couple to Seville, where the demigod Hermencgild resided as his father's representative."

Eix REBELL AND THE SAVIOUR IS HEALtG

In Seyilla, the monk and later local and archbishop Leander, brother of Hermeriegild's mother, backed the Catholic princess of the Franks, who thus fell under the spell of an entire holy family (of Spanish-Byzantine descent). St. Lcandcr was the brother and official predecessor of St. Isidore, Archbishop of Seville, brother of Bishop Fulgen- tius of Astigi (EcÍJd) and brother of St. Florentine. How could Catholicism not have flourished there!

St. Leander also succeeded in a double work: Hermenegi!d's conversion to Catholicism in 1979 - and his rebellion against his own valer y8o. Previously frriÍich assured

The first Spanish saint of royal lineage still had the cooperation of the hostile neighboring empires: the Catholic Byzantium, to which he ceded the Gcbicte in Andalusia and Córdoba conquered by his Varer, the Catholic Frankish king and the Catholic Suebi king Miro.

Only after this -youthful and heroic person- (Grisac SJ) had so abused his father's trust and invaded him from three sides did he declare himself king in 5evilla, brought numerous other towns and castles over to his side and, in winter, s7f i o against deu viillig. Leowigild, who had been rushed. However, despite initially

severe distress to separate his opponents diplomatically. After fighting the Basques in the north, perhaps also allies of Hermenegild, then the Byznntines by
the large sum of 3< ooo solidi for desertion, he included §83 Sevilla."

St. Archbishop Leander, apparently banished by Lcnwigild for inciting **indignation,** had in the meantime hurried to Constantinople, where the Byzarites also sent lngundc and her young son Athanagild; but she died on the journey, and Athanagild, apparently after a few years, in Constantinople. Archbishop Leander, however, who made friends there with the later ?'apostle Gregory T., tried to incite Emperor Tibcrios to intervene militarily on Hermenegild's behalf, but had no luck, as the troops for Spain fled."

At the beginning of 5 4 the resistance in Seville collapsed. The Catholic Suebic king Miro, who had already fought against Lcowigild and formed an antigothic alliance with the Franks in 574, was surrounded by Leowigild on his way to Seville and turned into a vasaĺlen, 58y the
Suebenland annexed to the Visigothic Empire.

Hermenegi)d left Seville before its fall and sought refuge with the Byzantines in Córdoba, but they abandoned their ally in the 5th century. They gave him up for a lot of money and
also ceded the territories set579 b• again. Hermenc- gild, veibarint to Valencia and Tarragona, was killed here in 58y after several failed attempts at reconciliation by Leowigild. Brother Rekkared had sworn that nothing shameful would happen to him.

The motive is unclear, as is whether Leowigild himself had a hand in it - in any case, cine -Passion-, "worthy of the old martyrs-tDaniel-Rops). -The Kstholian historian claims that Leuwigild gave the order in anger, and Duke Sisbert beheaded Hermenegild in his ker- ker. It was on the eve of Easter 8 , a fine day to die as a martyr - and a hat apparently not the irony at all

of his words: - Holy Saturday of y85 was the bloody Dawn of Catholicism iii Spain."

Pope Gregory I had already put Hermenegild to death because of his steadfast refusal to become an Arian and to receive communion at Easter from the hand of an Arian bishop! He makes the unfaithful son and rebel, King Hermenegild, a Catholic martyr, the blameless victim of Arian fanaticism. And the further we move away from the events, the facts, the more immaculate the halo around the traitor's head becomes, until in 1986 the new pope, Sixtus V, canonizes him.

But even Rekkared, who was sent to the dungeon by his father and soon became a Catholic himself, found no excuse for his brother. For what just reason could there be to take up arms against the father?

Even for the Catholic bishops]ohann of Biclaro, Gre- gor of Tours and lsidor of Seville, Hermenegild is only the rebel put down by a bloody civil war. All three call him an "outrager". Bishop John, once banished by Leowigild, nevertheless registers the defeats of the unfaithful 5ohnc year after year with undiminished satisfaction. And Bishop Gregory, who outlives Hcrmenegild by a decade, also sees no saint in the perfidious prince, whom he once even calls "wretched" {miser) and firmly condemns, like most of the old, even Catholic authors - although he is all too aware of this in the light of Helvétius' well-known words about the thousand canonized criminals."

However, Ingundc's Catholic relatives in the Frankish kingdom, who otherwise really didn't care about bloodshed, were now quite agitated. And King Guntram, the saint, began an energy-sapping war, particularly **around Nimes** and Narbonne; ostensibly, of course, because of the execution of Hermenegild, which was to be avenged, gur Christian-Catholic. In reality, Guntram wanted to conquer Sepiimania (today's Languedoc), which belonged to the Visigoths. Brunichild's son Childebert 11. also participated as a

Brother lngundes, while Fredegunde establishes relations with Leowigild.

After thorough preparations, a Burgundian army marched into the Rhone region, plundering heavily, while an Aquitanian army advanced into Septimania. In addition, a fleet set sail for Galicia (Gallaecia). However, Guntram's armada was completely destroyed and the invading army was badly defeated at Carcassonne. According to Gregory, around ycoo Franks were killed and more than zooo captured on horseback. The Visigoths under Reccared threw both French units back into Frankish territory, where, as so often, they committed unpaid atrocities and robberies, especially in Provence, which Leowigild's son Reccarod also ravaged and plundered several times in return."

However, after his initial attempts at reconciliation between the two denominations, Leowigild now pursued a fiercely anti-Catholic policy, whereby he also made use of the Arian Church, which he ruled, indeed, whose questions of faith he decided as the supreme authority. He also tried to return to Arianism the searches that he had incorporated into his empire. In vain. The fact that he himself became a Catholic on his deathbed before succumbing to a serious illness in his capital city in 1986, as Catholic circles reported soon afterwards, was one of the frequent lies of this kind.

In ecclesiastical tradition, the last Arian ruler of the Goths and one of their most important rulers almost always appears as the Antichrist incarnate, as being filled with the madness of Arian godlessness, as lsidnr of Seville, one of the king's weak- ners, writes. - He forcibly drove many people into the arms of the Arian plague. But he deprived most of them of their salvation without persecution by tempting them with gold and gifts." Still in the zo. Jesuit Grisar described Leo-wigild as an -inhuman father- and fabulated: "As in the times of the first martyrs, which Spain's Pnidentius had sung about so movingly, the public prisons filled up again; many were hanged and killed in agony.

In fact, however, there can be no question of persecution ... in extreme cases there were banishments - {Claude)."

"… INFLAMED BY THE G LUT OF FAITH OR - I WILL NEVER BE A CATHOLIC°

Less than a year after Lcowigild's death, his son Rekkared tJ86-6oi), a demigod like Hermenegild, converted to Catholicism, at least, certainly not for religious reasons. Rather, in order to consolidate his domestic and foreign policy, he wanted a stronger church as a confederate, he wanted to add a stable religious unity to the stable state unity created by his father.

And Rekkared, the Catholic, was of course a completely different breed, a pious man and quite unlike his father," assures Bishop Isidor. King Rekkared was "a man of peace" - of faith. For right at the beginning of his reign, he converted to the Catholic faith and caused the entire Gothic people to shake off the plague of ingrained misbelief ... . He loudly declared that the three Persons in God were one, that the Son was begotten of the Father - consubstantia- liter' …i' O the -'man of peace-, -of faith-, the - pious prince-! He -was gentle and mild, of extraordinary goodness of heart", St. Isidore continues. -He was so generous ... he was so mild that he often remitted the taxes due to the people," claims the saint. -He bestowed goods on many, and elevated even more in rank and dignity. He distributed his money among the poor, his treasure among the needy …" Yes, everything - for the "common good", especially of course for the good of Klerti. For of course he gave back to the Holy Church what belonged to her, the church property that his father's sacrilegious greed had assigned to the treasury ... - But otherwise he gave nothing, he kept everything, everything that the old lord had taken, robbed, everything that his father had conquered, he received for the empire …–

Not enough of the noble Taren: -He also waged glorious wars against hostile nations, and his faith gave him strength to do so - ; such strength that the "man of peace - once -'had thousands of enemies slain in battle - Franks, by the way, Catholics. Yes, the power -of faithi"! And -of peace-! - He also often took up the sword against the encroachments of the Romans, also Catholics, and the invasions of the Basques. So he not only waged war, but also seemed to educate his people, like the wrestlers in the wrestling ring, through obung to 5ch1ag-feriigkeir …-"

Is that not a glorious faith? Not a glorious religion? Not a grandiose church historiography? The edifice of a bishop, a saint, a kitchen teacher, a single mix of brazen impudence, contradiction and hypocrisy. In a word: catholic!

Atianism now collapsed throughout the empire, though not without fierce resistance and uprisings fomented by bishops and counts, especially in Septimania and the former Suebania.

Part of the Arian episcopate did convert to Rekkared. But the people, whose conversion the king demanded at the same time, hesitated. There was a serious revolt in Naibonne under the Arian bishop Athaloc and the two rich counts Granista and Wildigern, whom even the Franks rushed to help, of course only to fish in the mud according to the old custom (Dannenbauer), this time in vain. The leader of another conspiracy, Count Scgga, who was in league with the Aria- ner bishop of Mérida, Sunna, was sent into exile by Rekkared y88 with two hands chopped off."

At the beginning of 89, the outrage even flared up in the capital. Leowigild's widow Goswintha and the Arian bishop of Toledo, Uldida, who had both become Catholic at short notice, returned to Arianism. Uldida, like many other Arian episcopes, was banished, and the aged queen dowager -srarb- died soon afterwards, probably of an involuntary death. A conspiracy in the following year, which brought the dux Argimund to Rek-

kared's place, ended with a deer being flogged, shorn, mutilated and dragged through Toledo on a donkey."

At last the Goths, who once, writes Bishop Isidore, had absorbed the -perishable poison- of Arianism, -the doctrine-, and kept it for so long, -thought of their salvation, renounced the deeply rooted heresy and, by the grace of Christ, arrived at the only blessed Catholic faith - Alleluia!"

At the 3rd Council of Toledo in May 58q, the worthy preparation for which included a three-day fast ordered by the king, some of the Arians emerged victorious. The king declared Catholicism the official state religion and began to eradicate Arianism quickly and completely: by destroying its church organization, excluding the Arians from all public offices and burning their holy books. Rekkared was not wrong to declare: "I, too, as you can see from my deeds, was inflamed by the fervor of faith …" – But the Madrid historian Antonio Bal- lesteros y Beretta claims: -With the conversion of King Reccared, the persecutions came to an end and the Spanish church entered one of its most glorious periods.- In reality, Reccared and the bishops persecuted the Arians so thoroughly that after his reign nothing more was heard of Arians in Spain."

And the bishops, led by none other than Leander of Seville, the -sec1e of this assembly- (Ballesteros), who spoke at the council - de triu mpho ecclcsiae ob convcrsionem Gothorum-, were naturally enthusiastic about Rekkared, who saw himself as the - apostolic king". They recognized him as having -apostolic ministry-, an apostolic office-, celebrated him as truly Catholic, as -the new Constantine-, -the most holy king-", they considered him to be like an emperor and -full of the divine spirit-. Arianism was condemned at the council, at which a small number of the heretical prelates, four Visigoths and four Suebi, together with other priests and the noble Visigothic priests, were elected.

The king condemned all nobles who converted to Catholicism, subjected Judaism to severe pressures, procured ecclesiastical slavery in favor of church property and founded the Catholic sraat church in Spain, which now encompassed almost all subjects. The King of the Visigoths, now consecrated by the Archbishop of Toledo, was regarded as the "anointed of the Lord". And after the tolerance of Arian rule in 5 Spain, Catholicism there filled the coming century with terror and cruelty."

But the Metropolis of Seville, St. Leander, probably the most influential ecclesiastical politician in the country at the time, mediated the communication between the king and the pope. The Spanish convert wrote to him most reverently, admittedly only three years after the election of Gregory I. And the latter was full of appreciation for the king's merits - just as all the popes praised their high henchmen on the neighboring peninsula, right up to Pius XII and General Franco. Gregory I sent precious relics, saw his own conversion efforts almost disappear in the face of Rekkared's magnificent achievement and rejoiced: -With words, most illustrious son, I cannot express my great joy at the work you are doing and the life you are leading.- With the obligatory relics, the no less obligatory instructions, more properly governmental instructions, arrived at the Spanish royal court. And Reccared, who sent the Pope a precious chalice for St. Peter's, maintained contact not least because of his conflict with the Byzantines.[e]

-He was very peace-loving, and if he waged individual wars, it was almost only so that his people would not be weaned from arms-, writes a modern Catholic of Rckkared, who apparently only waged his numerous wars (against Franks, Burgundians, Byzantines, Basques) as a kind of competitive sport for the people. And a contemporary, St. Isidore of Seville, himself regarded as the "light of the century", praises not only Rekkarcd, who had enemies sheared, whipped, mutilated and killed, but also the manslaughter skills of his people: the Greeks preserved their freedom more through battle than through peaceful warfare.

Negotiations ... They are excellent in the arts of arms and fight not only with thrusting lances, but also on horseback with throwing lances. On the other hand, they not only know how to fight on horseback, but also on foot ... They love to practice throwing spears and mock battles; they organize war games every day. The only practice they lacked in warfare was in naval warfare. But after Prince Sisebut was called to the throne by the grace of heaven, they became so proficient in warfare through his efforts that they were not only well equipped on land, but also on sea, and the Roman soldiers served them unreservedly, as so many nations and all of Spain were obedient to t h e m .

This is precisely what Catholicism - here proclaimed by a saint and church teacher (!) - is Catholicism, as it has already had an impact on world history for two millennia, more correctly: on the one hand, the Sermon on the Mount, love of enemies, peace, joy, on the other hand, battles on foot, cavalry, naval warfare - and all nations tremble! Together with the bishops, Reccared p u t a n end to Arianism in Spain forever, turning the Church into an instrument of oppression the likes of which had never been seen before in Gothic history. All Christian opposition was crushed, Arians were banned from state service, all Arian church property was confiscated in favor of the Catholic dioceses and celibacy was imposed on the converted clergy. There were also forced conversions, a n d some of the Arian episcopate, such as Bishop Uldida or the stubborn chief shepherd of Mérida, Sunna, died in exile. • Catholicus numquam ero-, Sunna is said to have confessed at Rekkared's request to convert. -I will never become a Catholic, but in the cult in which I have lived, I want to live in the future or die gladly for the faith to which I h a v e adhered from my youth!

However, many Arian bishops became Catholic, as did many Catholic clerics under Leowigild, including Bishop Vincentius

of Caesaraugusta, had converted to the Arian imperial church. Now began the alliance of the state with the Catholica, the beginning of what Bishop John of Biclaro called the -renovatio-, the attitude of the -Christianissimus imperator". In accordance with old Catholic tradition, Reccared immediately had all Arian bibles and Lelir scriptures burned publicly and completely in Toledo. "Not a single Gothic text remained in Spain - (Thompson)."

Docfi that was the spirit of the times - and entirely in the spirit of the Holy Father.

7- CHAPTER

POPE GREGOR I. lS9 O4)

• In his Liber Rtgulae Pasioralis, G rcgor sketched out the ideal image of a soul of Christ. It is not too much to say that he realized this ideal throughout his entire ministry.- The Catholic papal historian
Franz Xaver Scppclt'

-Gregory was as just and loving towards the poor and the weak as he was towards the elderly, the *hard of hearing* and everyone." The Catholic theologian F. M. Strstmann

• The history of the church does not have many stories to do with the same right to receive the B<in0men of the Grogcn Isstcn.- Heinrich Ktaft'

-His main areas of activity were Judaism, paganism and schism. All three groups were attacked by Gr-B° • , using violence, preaching or bribery; manthmßl 5OB^TAll three.
Jeffrey Richards*

" . undl through the \Pcifirauchneb¢l andüchtiget Ycrchrung shone ccin image with the gold glsnz of the halo in ücrna'ür1icIser Vergräf{c- tung ... **okne** to be **a groltcr Hcrrcchcr** or **a** great personality.-.
-There is no doubt that Gregory was a religious Pope, but rc)igios only in the sense of his time. that is, how out of line and fair our feeling was and his **conception of** Christianity is sufficiently demonstrated by the rules he applied to the Btkchrung of Jews and pagans.
wison wanted. It is not the worst thing that he advised the use of privileges, folccr and lterker against opponents; with eaive cynicism, he even recommended the tax screw as a means of reversing the situation: those who were in breach were to be offered the prospect of tax relief and opposition to tax pressure was to be reduced.'- johannes H "llcr'

-His expression was kind; he cold beautiful hands, m! !^^B^^^ ^P'** tapered fingers, well suited for writing - johsnaes Diakonus-

-Gregor is neither philosophically nor ethnically educated -Hicr cniliilli the deep f4icdergang, which the collapse of Hal iens iibcr has brought to life, in cruel nakedness. The poverty of spirit, the lack of personal thought, the decay of taste celebrate triumphs here as rarely before." - Heinrich Dannenbauer'

WORLDLY AND CAREER-MINDED

Apart from Leo 1 (II $. ch.), St. Gregory I (y9o--604) is the only pope - of over a6o - with the title of a Doctor of the Church, and the only one with the epithet "the Great", which he does not use, as Haller says, which is why Mommsen already calls him a basically rather small great man. But at least he came from the "great world", the first monk on the alleged chair of Peter (II $y ff.) came from the senatorial family of the Anicians, i.e. the soft Roman high nobility, de senatoribus pri- mis, says Gregory of Tours (all ecclesiastical writers emphasize the "noble and/or rich descent of their heroes). And even from a purely external point of view, the -miracle of his time-, the man of only medium height, with tiny eyes, a dexterous hooked nose and two small curls, with the enormous, almost bald skull, was a miracle in his own right, and not just for his time. For this truly unusual head multiplied and could thus, as a holy relic, be in many cities at the same time. Constance, for example, possessed Gregory's head, as did Prague, Lisbon and Sens ...

Gregory was praefectus uibis, the highest civil official in Rome, around yy3. Adorned in precious stones and flanked by an armed bodyguard, he resided in a magnificent palace. For although he was already "blown about by a longing for heaven", as his preface to the Moralia confesses, he nevertheless held on to his "beautiful appearance, his outward attitude to life" and probably did not dislike serving the earthly world at all.

The family was in Rome, in the environs of Rome, especially

There were relations as far as Constantinople, allegedly also intensely religious ones. Wealth and religion are not mutually exclusive. On the contrary: whoever God loves, he makes rich, and of course - regardless of all the camels and needles - that's how he gets to heaven. Gregory's rich clan had already given the world two popes: Agapet I and Felix III, whom he himself called his great-great-grandfather (atavus). And Mother Silvia and the two aunts, the nuns Tarsilla and Aemiliana, were also canonized by the Church. (The vast majority of saints since the q. The vast majority of saints since the q. century come from rich or noble families or have at least made it to bishop. Holiness nests in high ranks. There it hatches its basilisk eggs. The saints' vitae always emphasize such descent. But Giegor's youngest aunt, Gordiana, also a non-ne, suffered this self-chosen fate and incurred the nephew's censure because she entered into a marriage below her station: with her estate manager.

Gregory, for his part, who saw the end of the world as imminent, almost approaching, who even saw the church as nothing more than an "old wreck", hopelessly exposed to the storm of waves, soon began to sing his mourning ditties. -The scourging blows of heavenly justice have no end-, he wrote - and yet he expected the end. There were earthquakes and famine, pestilence, signs in the sky, fiery swords, reddened by human blood. The fields were desolate, the forts razed, the cities destroyed. Rome itself lay in ruins, covered in clouds, all its pomp, all its mas- less pleasure gone. But God's wrath threatened, his approaching judgment under terrible plagues. Yes, Gregory found the world "old and gray, and through a sea of misery, as it were, pushed towards imminent death". But he who loves God -so)l rejoice over the end of the world ..."'-.

Between his election and consecration A3 September 5qo, Gregory, almost constantly bedridden from weakness, had already called for the fight against the bubonic plague brought in from Egypt, to which his predecessor Pelagius II (p. i3i ff.) had also succumbed on February 8, Jqo. Gregory naturally declared the plague to be

God's punishment, as retribution for the sins of the Lombards, the pagans, the -heretics-, forcing their conversion to *the* true and right catholic faith-, Rene, Bute, demanded three days of prayer and psalm singing, -as long as there is still time for tears". So, among the ruins of the defeated city, he set in motion a spectacular sevenfold supplication procession - Ferdinand Gregorovius lets us remember the Middle Ages of Rome with him - with gruesome funeral chorales, with the babble of prayers from all possible holy martyrs, including those who never existed; like those in the famous comedy of St. Ambrose of Milan. Gervasius and Protasius (I ą3i ff.), who were invented in the famous comedy of St. Ambrose of Milan. The success is astounding. An eyewitness reported to St. Gregory of Tours that "in the course of an hour, while the people were raising their voices in prayer to the Lord, eighty people fell to the ground and died". - After all, in Constantinople, the plague is said to have struck between s4> 3nd J44 ItäCh God's inscrutable
have taken away the counsel of man."

In the midst of all this gruesome doomsday atmosphere,
-visions and realities (not only the plague was spreading, ancient temples had collapsed, even papal granaries and churches) prepared Gregory, who was called the -last Roman-, the
-He was known as the "medieval pope" and was astonishingly determined in his career. Like many a Holy Father, he supposedly rose to the top ecclesiastical position out of **sheer** modesty and monastic respect for the world. In fact, however, as Byzantine prefect of Rome, he had no chance of advancement in the state of the time and was less concerned with the succession of Christ than that of the Roman Caesars (Misch). Or, as Ferdinand Gregorovius put it: -'The highest goal that beckoned to the descendant of the Anicians could only be the throne of the bishop."

Gregory, one of the richest men in Rome5 , therefore used his fortune to found six monasteries on his Italian and Sicilian estates. He also transformed his own palace on the Caelius (the noble Monte Celio) into a monastery in 57J.

He went to a "St. Andrew's Monastery" (which later disappeared without a trace) to withdraw from the world and serve God completely undivided - and escaped, as he admittedly "erroneously" assumed, "naked and bare from the shipwreck of this life". In the process, the man (who **praised the "so glorious peace he enjoyed in the monastery"), who** was in the midst of floods and plague catastrophes in a gloomy delusion of penance, allegedly fainted, suffered from stomach cramps or, according to a Franconian deacon present at the papal election, "could hardly hold himself upright with a weakened stomach". Gregory chastised himself -to the point of heart rupture-, to the point of suffering severe confinement, which he -took upon himself, for example, to release the Emperor Trajan from purgatory- (Keller).

57f -In the same year, he became one of the seven deacons of Rome (senior administrators in charge of the seven ecclesiastical regions of the city) and, in the same year, Roman apostolic chargé d'affaires at the imperial court, a post with considerable powers that was actually first institutionalized by Emperor Justinian.

powers, comparable to the papal nuncios in the Middle Ages. In Byzantium, where Gregory worked betweens7 *iftd }8y (not Without the constant companionship of his trusted friends from the traskloster), he should first **win** the favor of Emperor Tiberius 11 and (from y8i) that of Mauricius, as well as, the main purpose of the matter, to quickly raise military and money to fight the Lombards. Pope Pelagius saw himself brought into such distress, as Gregory wrote, -that we are doomed to destruction unless God moves the heart of the most pious emperor to have mercy on his servants- - the cry for military force against, according to Pelagius, - the godless people-. For whoever fights against the pope is always godless! Apocrisiar Gregory therefore also conferred with the generals Narses and Priscus, made friends with the most influential women, as was customary with priests, with **Empress Constantina,** Princess Theoktista, with the sister of Maurikios, and in between, the radiant highlight, r a i s e d the eldest son of the emperor from the baptism {which is particularly w o r t h remembering).

§He then ascended the papal throne - despite his weakness and only reluctantly, of course. This was not just part of good practice back then, it was part of etiquette, part of clerical hypocrisy right up to the 20th century. Century. In those days, even lesser clerics were so coveted that Emperor Mauricius 59z
{according to some, it was 5q3) forbade the transfer of soldiers to the monastery or of civil servants to the clergy. And Gregory knew very well that "one who takes off the worldly garb in order to quickly assume an ecclesiastical office only changes the clergy, but does not want to leave the world".

Was he perhaps thinking of himself? Oh no. He is even said to have fled, as the Doctor of the Church Ambrose {I ROI) once did, and to have insistently asked Emperor M aurikios not to raise him "to such honor and power". But the letter was {un)fortunately intercepted by Gregory's brother Palarinus, destroyed and replaced by another letter, which promptly met with the emperor's approval. Thus Gregory's brother, who was the city prefect, had a "significant part" in this papal election, writes Haller. Gregory, however, reproaches the Patriarch of Constantinople for not having prevented his election and the associated burden, calls himself an unworthy, sick man - and soon takes energetic a c t i o n against the Patriarch."

THE TiTE LSTREIT WITH THE "OASTER iz "SEARCHING FOR OWN Ruii --

First of all, Gregory harbored the asceticism that made him widely known.
Patriarch John IV of Constantinople, the
-Faster- (8z- q5), estimated, he is even friends with him
had been. He had come to know and respect him as an Apokrisiar,
-a very modest man, popular with everyone, as he himself said, - who occupied himself with almsgiving, good works, praying and fasting. Gregor could agree with all that.

It was different when it came to titles and rights, supposed or real privileges; for example, the title of "economic patriarch", which John had held since 588, but which had been common in the East for around a century.

The true episcopus universalis could not accept such a violation of the -demut of the episcopal office-, such -lust for power- of the Byzantine court patriarch. His predecessors, the Roman bishops, had indeed usurped papal primacy for centuries out of lust for power, out of pure lust for power (II y ff.), and the dispute continued into modern times (II 8y ff.). However, from the time of Emperor Justinian I, the primacy of faith and the first place was legally granted to the Roman See.

His predecessor Pelagius had already protested against the patriarch's arrogant and presumptuous title. Gregory actually found the title dispute -poor-, but claimed that he was not defending his cause against the arrogance of the patriarch, but that of God. He also humbly called himself -servant of the servants of God- (servus servorum Dei), according to an Austinian term that was then retained in papal documents, but also wrote: -'I am the servant of all bishops, as long as they are bishops. But whoever raises his neck out of a desire for vain glory and against the statutes of the fathers will, I hope to God, not bend my neck with the sword himself,
-just like his rival, the ascetic patriarch John the
-Faster'.

They like to argue. Gregor also liked to argue. And with humility. Even in a fanatical clerical controversy (58a) with the John's predecessor, Eutychius, who taught that bodies would become immaterial at the "resurrection", Gregory had denied this and succeeded in having the emperor burn the patriarch's book. (Both fighters were so exhausted that Gregory fell seriously ill and Eutychius died). And the Tirel controversy continued under the successor of John

the estrangement between the two churches, the drifting apart of Byzantium and the West. Just one year after Grcgor's death, none other than his successor Pope Sabianus accused him of "seeking his own glory"."

You could certainly have attested that to many popes, even the seemingly most humble, such as Gelasius I. t49> 4s*). Just as Gregory did not feel worthy, so Gclasius did not fail to the assurance of his complete unworthiness. And just as Gregory called himself -servant of the servants of God-, so Gelasius affirmed, -the least of all men- {sum omnium hominum minimus), and yet forced his rank and precedence like no pope before him, not only over all the other priests, but, in his so-called doctrine of two powers, also over the emperor, who before him -piously craned his neck" to beugen habe (II 324 ff.).

O these humble ones!

Patriarch John IV, however, took the matter calmly, it seems. He sometimes did not react or wrote to Gregory, as he himself found, in an extremely friendly and reasonable manner. But the title, the -vcrderbten", the -haughty- title, the apeStar- tige Woft-, as Gregory thundered, continued to be claimed by the latter on occasion; it also recurred again and again in the records of the Church of Constantinople, which particularly irritated the Pope. He pulled out all the stops. He wrote again and again, indulging in unvoiced threats. He ordered his apocrisiar (who apparently held a different view in the title dispute that Gregory had played up so highly) to abstain from church communion with John. He accused him of misinforming his successor Pope Sabinian, the emperor, who had urged Gregory to exercise restraint and make peace, but he feared nothing, he pathetically posited, "except Almighty God".

The Pope became more and more exasperated. He turned to the Patriarch Eulogius of Alexandria, who, however, understood the Roman's anger as little as the Patriarch Anastasius of Antioch, who was also bothered by him and warned him against arrogance and envy, so that Gregory's stinging like a bee.

General Narses also tried to calm him down. But Gregory threatened, condemned, indulged in mockery. He denounced John, who was basically so peaceful, insulted him as an imitator of Lucifer, the harbinger of the Antichrist. In apocalyptic tones, he conjured up the raging of the plague and the sword,

-People rise up against people, the whole world is shaken. The Pope saw entire cities devoured by the ground, saw the prophecy of the end times fulfilled once again. And all because of a title that had been in use for a hundred years, all because he was greedy for honor, zeal, domination, because he was greedy for primacy, the primacy that he saw threatened, quite unnecessarily, which adds to the irony of the matter.

He lectured the patriarch on courage of all things. He accused him of -vanity-, -foolishness", accused him of the stiff neck of arrogance, of disturbing the peace of the whole world. He demanded that the emperor suppress the -' evil title-, force the patriarch -by the orders of my most pious Lord-, bind him -with the fetters of imperial power". And since the emperor saw as little reason for Gregory's nagging as the patriarchs did, the pope also backed the empress. He made it clear to both rulers that, of course, none of this was about his,

-not about my cause but about God's", about the whole Church, the venerable synods, the Lord Jesus Christ, that the patriarch had transgressed "against the spirit of the Gospel, against St. Peter the Apostle, against all churches ..." etc. The dispute over the title, conducted almost exclusively by Gregory, lasted beyond the death of St. John the Patriarch. His successor, St. Kyriakos, to whom Gregory himself attested restraint, a calm heart, a noble demeanor, did not feel compelled to discard the title. And so the pope continued the fight until his death. And as the patriarchs continued to retain the title "ecumenical patriarch", the Roman bishops finally resigned and transferred the title to the Pope. also took the title.'^

It all had to do with personal arrogance, vanity and pride.

not the slightest thing to turi, of course. The first monk was proud Pope, humility is innate to him given his origins.

He wrote to Peter, the rector of Sicily, in July 59*: -You have sent me a miserable horse and five good oxen. I cannot ride the horse because it is so poor, and I cannot sit on the good donkeys because they are donkeys." Yes, the biblical Jesus, His Holiness seems to have forgotten, could ride a donkey. But now it should be a noble steed. Today you ride in a Mercedes 6oo, custom-made. Or travel in a Jumbo with a specially built sleeping compartment. What do they have to d o with the Galilaer?

From Gregory 1, the humble servant of the servants of God, to the zo. The popes are known to have had their feet kissed. Eigerie Ordines, ceremonial biers, regulated the eiiizel- herten. However, as we also know, it was not actually their foot, but the foot of God. That is why all the emperors, including Charles V, performed this dirty deed at the portal of St. Peter's Church."

IN THE "DUST OF I RDISH EMPLOYMENT"

Gregory's self-confidence was understandably pronounced due to his origins, career and status. He always presented himself to the clergy and laity accordingly. In modern terms, he was a law-and-order type, a former police prefect, a criminal judge who insisted strongly on obedience and discipline, especially towards monks and nuns, whereby he was particularly interested in their morality or immorality and the observance of their vow of poverty."

Gregory, whose influence in the Roman city administration became decisive, used to call his clergy and civil servants "soldiers of Peter" or "milites beati Petri, milircs ecclesiae Romanae". The first monk on the papal throne almost transformed the Lateran into a kind of

monastery, populated *lin* any case with monks, whom he had placed in high
offices. But he himself, who had the monkish phrase of humility -servant of the servants of God, which became the official title of the popes after his death, naturally wants to be "the first servant in the Church of God" (tAltendorf).

Gregory never uses the name Santa reter without the addition -Prince of the Apostles-.

He strictly forbids the subordinates {subditi) to presume to pass judgment on the lives of their superiors (praepositi}. Even if they fail and are reprehensible, they must not be reprimanded. Rather, we should willingly bear the]och of reverence. -For if we offend against those who are set over us, we offend against the order of him who has set them over us, and he who endures a bad ruler must not blame him whom he endures. There is something to this, admittedly. Even if such things are easier said than done; Gregory, moreover, only puts them forward with a devious intention, namely that he does not want rulers, superiors, to be criticized, rebuked, let alone overthrown by subordinates. For to be subject to the power of evil rulers is something that man
-undoubtedly deserves it himself. He is therefore supposed to rather blame his own misdeed
than the injustice of the ruler."

Subjects must refrain from criticizing even bad rulers. A wicked ruler is only God's punishment for wicked people, and anyone who grumbles against the authority of the authorities rebukes the one who bestowed it, which of course only takes up the Pauline idea and its Augustinian continuation, albeit with emphasis."

It goes without saying that obedience plays a major role for the pope, who by nature - and ex officio - is arch-conservative, legalistic and insistent on authority. He preached it insistently to all his subjects, thus endearing himself, like his predecessors and successors, to the emperors, kings and queens, to all the governors, high military officers, the nobility, to the entire ruling caste with whom he was in constant contact, both in Byzantium and in

Britain, in Africa, in the Frankish Empire, whose welfare
want he needed since he needed to invoke his own words,
-riach has risen on the outside-, but -fallen away on the inside-, since
he was covered with the dust of earthly occupation"."

THE MAN OF THE OO PPLED MORA L

Part of such intrinsic apostasy, the dust-covered earthly pursuits, is that Gregory always liked to increase his power and extend his authority.

In the election of bishops, for example, the people, clergy and nobility were to decide. The pope could only veto them for reasons of canon law or, if the voters did not agree, appoint and consecrate a candidate. In fact, however, he declared here and there that his completely new participation in the election, the consecration, was simply an old habit. In fact, he influenced these processes in every possible way, he did not see any interference, not even the intervention of a military commander, Duke Arsicinus, commander of the Pentapolis.'°

Gregory also tried to take action in Dalmatia.

Local prelates had already opposed his predecessor. Under Archbishop Natalis of Salona and the former Roman governor (rector) in Dalmaria, Bishop Malchus, church property was said to have been squandered and all sorts of other crooked things committed. Only after being summoned several times did Malchus face trial in Rome at the end of yg3 or beginning of yqj, but he died suddenly on the same day, the night after his conviction. Not only at the court of Constantinople was it said that Gregory had had the bishop poisoned. The Pope went to great lengths to disprove the case. **Shortly after** his subjugation, Archbishop Natalis of Salona, a bon vivant known for his epicurean feasts and very popular with the powerful, also died. His feasting - for the purpose of charity - is said to have been accompanied by references to the old

and the New Testament. Gregory, who threatened him with the withdrawal of the pallium, even excommunication, wanted to recognize anyone as Natalis' successor except a certain Maximus, who then occupied the bishop's chair, covered by a strong anti-pontifical popular mood, by the bishops and the emperor, who forced the recognition of Maximus. Gregory, who accused the archbishop of bribery at the Wa h1, the use of force and violations of celibacy, excommunicated him. But even repeated appeals in
Archbishop Maximum did not comply with the request t o face trial in Rome; the sudden end of Bishop Malchus was still too well remembered. Only in Ravenna, where he might have felt safer, did Maximum in July
5Q9 Publicly Bufie, lay on a street for three hours and cried out: - "I have sinned against God and the blessed Gregory" and, although ordained against Gregory's express will, remained the rightful bishop of Salona. After seven years of struggle, the pope was almost completely defeated."

If one looks at many bishops in Gregory's immediate circle - not to mention the Gallic episcopate (see q. ch.) - the character descriptions of the ideal bishop in his Re-gula Pastoralis read like the purest satire, but basically no different from so many Protestant parties with regard to Christianity and church history. Gregory calls for a bishop -who, having died to all carnal passions, always leads a spiritual life; who disregards worldly prosperity and fears no need; who desires only spiritual things …; who is not tempted to covet the goods of others, but makes generous gifts of his own . ." Et cetera. The bishop should be compassionate, Gregory demands, and rejoice in the happiness of others, he should not do crooked things, in short, he should s e t the best example i n everything he does."

Gregory himself is far from this - even if the opposite is almost always claimed on the Catholic side, Pope histo- rician Seppelt calls him "the ideal image of a pastor of souls", and this even "in his entire ministry".

Where he had power, Gregory, much praised for his justice towards subordinates, exercised it ruthlessly. Archdiacon La urrnrius, who had been passed over for the papal succession because of him and could not hide his disappointment, lost his office. Gregory fired him a year later in a solemn ceremony and in the face of the entire clergy - for pride and other crimes.'*

The following is even more significant. The monk Justus, a doctor in St. Andrew's monastery, who nursed the Pope himself, who was increasingly ill, confessed to having hidden three gold coins from his brother, his colleague Copiosus, before his own death. When Gregory learned of this, he ordered Justus to be rigorously shunned. No one in the monastery was allowed to visit the terminally ill man, no one was allowed to help him. After his death, however, the corpse and the three coins were to be thrown on the dung heap and the assembled convent was to shout: "To hell with you and your money!" When Justus heard this from Copiosus, he died of grief.

Gregory took the monk's vow so strictly - with others. But he himself, who supposedly sold everything he had not given to his monasteries and distributed the money among the poor, was still so wealthy as a monk that he was able to make a further donation to the monastery (often called -my monastery- by him in the owner's allure anyway). Indeed, at least thirteen years after becoming a Benedictine monk, he still owned several estates."

Of course, the **pope was** also a man of compromises, of playing games, of double standards. As much and as sharply as he always insisted on forcing back nuns and monks who had run away, he could make exceptions for noblemen.

When Venantius, a patrician from Syracuse and presumably a friend of Gregory's, left his monastery in defiance of the church's prohibition, married the beautiful, dominant Italica, fathered two daughters and even became the center of an anti-monastic circle, Gregory did not order him to return. Only voluntarily did he try to p e r s u a d e him to do so, with much effort and in vain; indeed, he even looked after the children from this

marriage, demonstrating once again, according to Jeffrey Richards, his modern biographer who is usually so sympathetic to him,

-that in Gregory's world view there was one law for the rich and another for the poor."

When a bishop in Sardinia ploughed up a farmer's field and moved the boundary stones before the Sunday service, Gregory simply punished the bishop's employee, and mildly enough.

However, he proved even more magnanimous towards Archbishop Januarius of Calaris, who turned Sardinia into a -capital territory-. The laity plundered church estates there, the priests plundered monastery estates, the pàchter fled from the latifundia of Mother Church, paganism got out of hand, the poor were fleeced, all kinds of fees for clerical actions were collected. There were clearly many swarming nuns, cases of violence within the clergy, usury, homosexuality and self-castration. The archdeacon openly grabbed other people's wives, and the archbishop, although, according to Gregory, "old and restricted", violently and unlawfully grabbed other people's property. Almost at the beginning of Gregory's pontificate, the flood of complaints (taøta moles Querimoniarum) about the Prince of Calaris was immense, and new reports kept coming in. But even ten years later, Gregory had not yet fired him - he remained in office until the end and may even have just outlived the pope."

Yes, when it came to rich Catholics or bishops who had become delinquent, the pope was extremely generous. Despite heaps of recalcitrant oppositional and criminal prelates, he only deposed six during his entire term of office, including Bishop Demetrius of Naples, -perversus doctor-, perhaps a -ct- zct- and worthy of death for criminal offenses. Incidentally, the diocesans of this most important diocese in Campania were also constantly so rebellious under Gregory that it was thought that they had been at war with each other for longer than with the Lombards.

A final example of Gregory's double standards. As Bishop An-

dreas of Tarentum, who also molested his priests and entertained women, beat up a poor woman living off church charity so barbarically that she died shortly afterwards, the pope only forbade the bishop to offer mass for two months - presumably only as a convenience to the bishop. On the other hand, Gregory had -all flesh sinners- put in monastery dungeons, which -remind a modern researcher of the old slave dungeons" (Grupp), as the monk Johannes Klimakus, a younger contemporary of Gregory, testifies, "in these monks' penitentiaries the -sinner- was locked up in such a way that he could not move a foot!"**.

"UNDER S 2U THINK AS THE MAJORITY ... A CRIME ALMOST WORTHY OF DEATH*

This pope, like most popes before and especially after him, took harsh action against those of other faiths, against all non-Catholics. The propagatio fidei, the planned expansion of papal power, almost at any cost, was his great goal.

For this reason, he became involved in England urtd in the mero Wingian Franks, whose kings he tried in vain to persuade to reform the church. He recommended gates and dungeons as a means of coercion, and occasionally also the peaceful conversion of pagan places of worship or churches - so that people would gather all the more trustingly in their usual places - depending on the circumstances. He also sometimes advised converts to promise tax relief, and stubborn people to be converted through high taxes. The Sardinians who still clung to paganism were to *be* forcibly converted to Christianity by their bishop - if they were slaves!

However, Gregory not only propagated the conversion of pagans in Sardinia, Sicily, Corsica and elsewhere, but also fought incessantly against heresy. He advocated just as zealously for

heretical criticism within Christianity as well as for the mission War to spread the faith in Asia, and gladly also -Defense of the Roman Churches or "the Hirien- care of the Papsces-.*'

Even mere outsiders and dissenters have nothing to laugh about. -To think differently from the majority, to cultivate a different way of life from the majority, means more and more a direct questioning of the teachings and practices of the many - and thus already a crime almost worthy of death - {Herrmann)." For the Pope, the Istrian schism of the "Three Chapters" already had nothing to do with real faith, with true religion. These Catholics were nothing but obstinate, contradictory to him, tiresome troublemakers. They were simply deluded or blinded by their ignorance in order to live as they pleased, contrary to church discipline. -They understand neither what they are defending nor what they are following, so the Romans sent troops to Grado with the highest permission. However, the emperor soon preferred the so-called religious peace and refused to support Gregory against Archbishop Severus of Aquileia, whom Saint Vatet wanted to see dragged to Rome. Gritting his teeth, he complied. But as soon as Mau- rikios was dead and Phokas had taken his place, bloodily enough, the pope took the turning point. He wrote to the exarch Smaragdos, who had recovered from his madness in the meantime and had been reinstalled in Ravenna by Phocas. During his previous term of office, he had already forcibly abducted Archbishop Severus and three of his bishops to Ravenna once (588), held them there for a year and forced them to recant:-We hope that the zeal which you have formerly shown in this matter will be kindled to greater fervor than ever, and that you will be more ready to conquer the enemies of God. to punish and subdue ...-"

Of course, Gregory was a versatile pope, and if force was not enough, he lured with money. He sent Istrian schismatics returning to the Roman Church to Sicily with a papal pension, such as the deacon Felix or a certain religiosus John. -because we know how to give thanks-, as the

Generous once wrote to Duke Arigis with a request for servants and oxen to transport wood, -and to our sons, who show us a friendly will to provide services in return". What returns to the sheepfold, what is useful and proves to be humble is good. Gregory likes to propagate the virtue of humility. And of course, only those who stand where the Pope stands and obey submissively are humble.

A "heretic", on the other hand, according to Gregory, could not be humble at all. - Heresy - was the opposite from the outset, was a division of hearts, a ruination of souls, a service of Baal, a service of the devil, was apostasy, indignation, arrogance. -For the place of the heretic is pride itself …, the place of the wicked is pride, just as, conversely, demur i s the place of the good.

Tolerance against "heretics" has been unthinkable from the very beginning, from New Testament times. -Heretics were fought against in the early church as "anti-Christians", as "first-born Satans", "animals in human form", "beasts", "devils", -Schlachtvich für die HÖ11e- etc. us- t 3- chap.). All this was an old, good tradition in this church and was summed up by a predecessor of Gregory worthy of him, Gelasius 1 (qs*'49*): - Tolerance of heretics is more pernicious than the most terrible ravages of the provinces by the .Barba-

In Africa, where after the complete annihilation of the Arian San- dals (J 39 ff., esp. Fry ff.) the Catholic imperial house ruled again, the pope was disturbed by the Manichaeans, remnants of the Arians,
not least the Donatists. For once again, as in Augustine's time, Donatism was the champion of the impoverished. But Gregory immediately insisted on the suppression of the -etzcr".
In a letter to the African prefect Pantaleo Anno s9i, he expressed his utter astonishment t h a t the state was not taking more vigorous action against the sectarians. He later protested by
He delegated three bishops to Constantinople and also complained to Emperor Mauricius about his disregard for the imperial candle laws in Africa. He also demanded a crackdown and was apparently successful, although otherwise the Catholic

Pope Gregory 1 did not allow the African episcopate to interfere much. But there was no more t a l k of the Donatists in the second half of his term of office."

The -grofie- Pope is angry with everything that is not Catholic - he would not be -great-. He doesn't just eradicate it, he diffam- icates it. So he turned two previously closed Arian prayer houses in Rome, kitchens of a people that no longer existed, into churches for Catholics: S. Severin on the Via Merulana and S. Agatha de'Goti in the Subura, the ecclesiastical center of the Goren living in Rome for almost a century. After the last traces of the "heresy" had been pursued, the "great" pope reports that after the consecration was completed, the devil ran out the door in the invisible but clearly tangible form of a pig between the bcines of the faithful. And for three nights he was still rumbling horribly in the attic until finally a fragrant cloud sank towards the altar ..." For Gregory, pagans possessed neither a divine nor a human right. He p o r t r a y e d pagans - turning things upside d o w n, as is still the case in his circles today - as persecutors of Catholics! He did not necessarily advocate coercion, not at all costs for beatings, torture and imprisonment, not even against pagans who, according to him, lived like wild animals.

No, long-suffering and good-natured as he was, he suggested quite philanthropically that pagan tenants of church estates should be crippled by the imposition of fines. He said that such a stubborn, thick-headed peasant, who resisted in every way, should be cured,

-to come to the Lord God-, then "burden him with so much more init taxes that this punishment drives him to take the right path as quickly as possible."

Of course, none of this helped, if someone failed to follow the right path, even under the worst tax pressure, the Holy Father showed himself to be a little harder on Now he ordered rigorous incarceration, even torture in the case of slaves, which AuguStİn, the spokesman for the

-mansuetudo catholica-, the ecclesiastical meekness; it is permitted not only towards slaves, but towards all donati- stic) schismatics - whereby the gifted numidian Zun-

The "torture-cure" is called emendatio, a kind of preparation for baptism, a trifle compared to the Hö1!e! (47 ff., esp. 4 5-)

Gregor, your revered role model a thousand times o v e r , christianized the murky remnants of Sardinian paganism in the light of Augustine. In Anno ygq he wrote to Archbishop Januarius of Salaris, the metropolitan of *Sardinia, urging* him to be -pastorally1 vigilant towards the idolaters. He initially recommended instruction through "convincing exhortation" (and not without invoking divine judgment), but then wrote with beautiful clarity: -If, however, you find that they are unwilling to change their way of life, we wish you to arrest them with great zeal. If they are slaves, chastise them with blows and torture to bring about their correction. But if they are free men, let them be brought to repentance by severe imprisonment, as is fitting, so that those who despise them may hear the words of salvation, which saved them from the danger of death, may in any case be led back to the desired faith through physical torment.

-heretic ice. Let him burn against them with "ardent zeal".

whipping the slaves, imprisoning the fceien.*' So through physical torture to a healthy, a ka-

tholic head.

Incidentally, Pope G regor also o b t a i n e d slaves for himself from Sardinia. There is said to have been particularly useful and profitable material there, and so he sent his notary BonifaZius to the Irisel, not failing to write to the imperial defensor t o ask for his kind cooperation so that he could obtain really good specimens."

Pagans still existed in many regions at that time, not only in Sardinia, where even Archbishop Januarius tolerated them among his tenants. There were pagans in Corsica, Sicily, Campania, not to mention Gaul or even Brirannia. And Gregory drove them to extinction everywhere, not only *among* his clergy.

but also the aristocracy, the gu sbesitzcr and, of course, the temporal arm, which was to strike everywhere together with the ecclesiastical arm. Thus he commanded Jqj the praetor of Sicily to give the bishop of Tyndaris every assistance in destroying the pagans. And when he ordered the Agncllus of Terracina to track down the building worshippers of his bishopric and to addict them so that others would l o s e their paganism, he requested the assistance of the local military commander Maurus. Of course, all this was done to speak to the deacon John,
-through the use of just force-."

Gregory also repeatedly praised the Byzantine exarch of North Africa, Gennadius, for his many wars against the pagans, thus again following in the footsteps of St. Augustine {I 5o3 ff: 5*4).
(One of the Gregorian monasteries in
Sicily was called the - Praetorian Monastery-). In contrast, the pope had
The emperor did not have the slightest sympathy for the liberal prazis of the governor (praeses) of Sardinia, who was a l s o acting out of dire financial straits, as he urgently needed to raise his suffragium, i.e. to blackmail the people according to established custom in order to get the money that it would cost him to obtain his post. But Gregory's last hairs must have stood on end when he reported to Empress Konstantina that the governor was not only allowing himself to be bought off with idol sacrifices, but was also pulling an op-
£ersteucr even from gctaufren heathens.

Pope Gregory recognizes, indeed even sanctions, regional warfare, the war of aggression to subjugate the pagans. In strict contrast to Jesus, he approves of the sword and battle as a means of missionary work. First the war, then Christianity. First mii was to be **subjugated with** all violence, then more or less gently converted; a maxim that, according to the Catholic Friedrich Heer, determined Christian policy o f conquest and expansion right up to the threshold of the First World War. In a letter to the emperor, Gregory worked with the old, already Ambrosian idea that "the peace of the res publi- ca depends on the peace of the universal church"! Ergo, he maintained

as military commander even his own so!dateska, the w a s also victorious on several occasions.

All of this happened quite naturally, as it were, and was seemingly the most natural development in the world. The absence of imperial power gave the papacy the political tasks of defending and supplying Rome", and so the popes, "without actually wanting to, gradually became the unchallenged masters of Rome" (Richards). According to the Catholic historian of popes, Seppelt, this all happened -quite naturally-, -as if by itself-, Gregory was the "guardian and leader", the -consu1 of God-, who -independently took the fate of Italy, of -his country-, into his own hands. **Gregory** protested **against** the planned reduction in the occupation of Rome and requested the reinforcement of the garrison. Indeed, the successor of the poor son of man did not shy away from sending news to troops himself, exhorting them to fulfill their duties, giving them detailed instructions and, of course, passing on news about the enemy. He sent a tribune to Naples and the dux Leontius to the fort of Nepc, each time demanding obedience to his orders. And did not speak from his mouth -the Lord-3

The poor pacifist itinerant priest Jesus?-i

Gr RIGHT AND LOVE VOL L AGAINST OIE JEWS ?

To this day, **Pope** Gregory I is regarded as a great protector of the Jews, who at that time were mainly traders, but also farmers, throughout the empire, from Africa to Spain and Gaul. -The Jews found in Gregory a protector of their rights, which w e r e guaranteed to them by the popes for centuries (Kühner). Yes, according to the Catholic theologian Stratmann, Gregory was not only just against the Jews, but even -loving-.*' Certainly, Gregory did not want "the Jews to be unfairly oppressed and tortured" - the emphasis should be on unfair. Gewi8, Gregory confessed to the Jews the, again his words,

-freedom of action granted by Roman law. But this law imposed many and severe disadvantages on the Jews. They were taxed heavily. They were not allowed to build new synagogues. They were not allowed to convert non-Jews to Judaism or marry non-Jews. They were not allowed to bequeath anything or hold any office, whether military or civil. They were also not allowed to keep Christian slaves or trade with Christian slaves, which Christians were of course allowed to do. The "great" Gregory, who did not regard Judaism as a religion at all, but as a superstition (superstitio), found all of this completely correct.

The Pope had nothing, nothing at all, against Christian slaves. On the contrary, he kept plenty of them himself. But he was outraged by Christian slaves in Yidi service. After all, he found it "utterly pernicious and abominable for Christians to be in the service of Jews as slaves". And against Jews who had converted Christian slaves to the Jewish religion, Gregory demanded immediate and strict registration. And of course such slaves were to be freed. Likewise, however, pagan or Jewish slaves in Jewish service who wanted to become Christians, if these slaves were not sold to Christians within a quarter of a year.*^

Gewifi, Pope Gregory even offered the Jews economic advantages, going so far as to bribe them to be baptized. His offer ranged from free baptismal garments to the granting of a pension. Every third Jew in Rome who became Catholic only had to pay two thirds of his rent. This was worth it to the well-versed financial and administrative expert (and apostle of the end of the world). Just as he also paid a pension to Catholics for their conversion from the three-chapter schism (5. *7* *.)· But the Jews were also more tempted by money
as Christ, the Holy Father won their children right away
with, and their children, and so on, and therefore he wrote, -any reduction of rent for Christ's sake is not to be regarded as a loss-. Ergo, he also reduced the inheritance tax for converted Jews.

But such papal development aid aside, Gregory was one of the pacesetters of anti-Jewish politics in the West. Although he was still strongly opposed to any persecution of Jews, he objected to the forced conversion of Jews in Lower Italy and the occupation of a synagogue by Catholics in Sardinia. However, he still regarded even the intention of forced baptism as laudable and emphatically propagated the conversion of the Jews. He also strictly forbade them to build or even expand synagogues, forbade them to carry out any missionary work and, in no less than ten letters, to keep Christian slaves. He ordered his special representative in Sardinia, the notary John, to stop sending runaway slaves back to their Jewish masters. Indeed, Gregory forbade Jews to have the slightest influence in the public life of Christians.*'

According to a word of this pope, no Christian was allowed to be a slave or

They were also only servants of]udcn, who had killed and rejected Christ. He also once commanded (yqr) that Judah had to return the chalices, candelabra and galliads he had bought by virtue of a law. And he told a bishop that he had bought a pelt from Jewish merchants. He himself is said never to have spoken to them and urged them to offer their goods for sale outside the -porticus- in order to avoid even the appearance of trade. Finally, we also know that the alleged pro- tector of the Jews particularly praised King Rekkared because he resisted all attempts to have the Jews buy back an anti-Jewish law he had passed."

BUSINESS BEFORE THE END OF THE WORLD **OR** Voxi OWNERSHIP OF **THE GRENfES**

The same man who prophesied the impending end of the world, the imminent divine judgment, pursued such an intensive church property policy as if the divine judgment would never come.

The Pope had a number of well-organized patrimonial

nia, about fifteen when he took office, a total of many hundreds of square kilometers of land, called the Patrimony of St. Peter. In other words, all of this did not actually belong to the Pope or the clergy or the Church, no, it actually belonged to the blessed Prince of the Apostles. And this possession of Peter stretched from North Africa, where almost deserted regions were populated with prisoners of war (the cheapest "labor material") to Gregory's great delight, through Italy, the urban area of Rome, the -Patrimonium urbanum-, as far as Corsica, Sardinia, Dalmatia, Italy and Provence; an enormous, widely scattered estate, the largest in Italy. Much of it came from imperial foundations. Perhaps the last huge boost were the lands of the Arian Church, stolen after the destruction of the Osrogothic Empire. And while the pri- vate possessions continued to shrink, the wealth of the church continued to increase.

In 5icily, since ancient times the granary of Rome, the patrimonium of St. Peter was so large that Gregory divided it into two administrative centers (rectorates): Palermo and Syracuse, with a total of zoo tenants (conductores) - and he himself is informed that for years -many people had suffered violent injustice at the hands of the administrators of the Roman church property, that they had been robbed and their slaves dragged away.

The pope was assisted in his management by some of his closest confidants as well as by the rectors of the various patrimonies (who were sworn to the alleged tomb of St. Peter, which he had covered with too many pounds of gold). But Gregory himself was still concerned with (almost) trivial matters. And he, w h o still intervened despite the swarm of his ailments, walked the diakonia of Catania in sandals (campagi) because only Roman deacons were allowed to do so, still found time in addition to all of his harangues, gloomy sermons and his grueling doomsday warnings, astonishing amount of time to ponder fields, broodmares, old oxen, useless cows or slaves, who should of course be baptized members of the holy church if possible, whereby the methods of the Holy Father were not

have been very scrupulous. The main thing was to increase profits before the Last Judgement and the boss could give his boss a good account. His motto was, they wrote: -View, efficiency and discipline. This could be the credo of every US marketing researcher today.

Although the sinister herald of the end of the world genuinely and nobly sought to prevent the church's coffers from being sullied with shameful profits, he also did everything he could to increase production and profits. He was not the only pope to go so far as to spend income from Gaul, for example, rent money with locally minted coins whose value differed from the official ones, in order not to a c c e p t a reduction in value when exchanging them.*'

The papal dominion constantly provided Gregory with large amounts of goods and money and made the Catholic Church the first economic power in Italy, especially since even in such contexts not inconsiderable amounts were added from bequests and donations, including for the Holy Father and the bishops personally. According to the qua dripartitum, a very old tradition, the fourfold division of the church's assets, the pope, like every bishop, collected a quarter of the total income for himself alone. It so happened that some chief shepherds kept a third for themselves, or that they carried out the usual fourfold division for previous income, but collected all new income alone {cf. III y3 f.). This practice of the bishops of Sicily, for example, was of course forbidden by **Gregory.** Nevertheless, it is significant that at the same time as the last banker in Rome perished, an Italian landowner had a large sum of money transferred by the pope to the Sicilian church revenues for payment in Sicily, while he paid the sum in Rome to the deacon dispensator {Hartmann)."

Certainly Gregory, like very few popes, also stood up for the tenants, the peasants, and sought to control the worst injustices. The papal correspondence shows that these church estates were a swamp of exploitation, bribery, oppression and fraud.

The miserable **peasants,** real land slaves, who were already being fleeced by an imperial land tax (burda- tio) levied three times a year, as well as by rents and levies paid to the sole savior, were further oppressed by the various means and methods of the church beadles: by extorting further money, for example, by greatly increased fees for a marriage license, by false or altered grain mafia. Even if grain was lost on the sea route to Rome due to a shipwreck, the farmers were obviously to blame and the colonists had to deliver it again. Only if the rectors missed the favorable time for the sea voyage did the pope himself want to hold them liable for losses. Gregory's inscription in various cases that have become known was unfortunately not a matter of course, but undoubtedly increased the profitability of the papal estates and was therefore also in his interest, in that of a -just and yet efficient landlord-, as Richards praises him, who of course also has to admit: -Many of the old misrule c o n t i n u e d , however.'°

Probably almost all of them.

Gregor called himself the -treasurer of the poor- and the enormous papal property "the property of the poor - a -His most beautiful words, boasts the Catholic Handbook of Church History. But as a rule, all this did not go beyond almsgiving, even if Gregory, admittedly, helped himself personally, the needy and not least others.

-needy people. Subdeacon Anthe- mius, for example, was supposed to do this. However, Pope Jqi criticizes that he only did this in **a few cases** - and apparently forgot the most important ones. Gregory immediately orders him to do so: -I want you to give Prau Pateria, my aunt,4 ducats and4 bushels of wheat to support her servants as soon as this order is received, and to Mrs. Palatina, the widow
of Urbicus, xc ducats and 3oo bushels of wheat, and Mrs. Viviana, the wife of Felix, also ao ducats and 3oo bushels
Wheat. The 8o ducats are to be added to the bill." The Holy Father's aunt receives more wheat than

each of the two widows. And twice as much money (to pay her servants, by the way: labor money!) as the two widows together. But, as the Handbook of Church History writes, "the concern for a remnant of peace and order, indeed for the daily bread for the poor, often filled the Roman bishop's attention: -Gregor was never just a nurse even in the hardest times . . -- It is a pity that we do not know, for good or bad reasons, what the clergy spent on the poor in the course of its entire history of victory and salvation and what was spent on the poor.

$CLAVES USE AND CONSUME AS THEY ARE OR IN VARIETY OF CIRCUMSTANCES

We know from Gregory himself that many bishops did not take care of the oppressed or the poor; he says this about the bishops of Campania in general. But was he himself a mild gentleman? He wrote to the -coloni- of Syracuse on the occasion of the appointment of the defensor Romanus as rector: -We therefore command you to obey willingly his orders, which he deems right to promote the interests of the Church. We have authorized him, should anyone undertake to be disobedient or unruly, to punish him severely. We have also instructed him to track down all slaves belonging to the Church who have run away and to recover all land unlawfully occupied by anyone prudently, vigorously and quickly."

To manage his estates, Gregor naturally needed whole armies of slaves, colons bound to the ground. -Free church peasants were rare (Gontard). It is self-evident that the Pope did not take offense at slavery - where would he, the administrator of the poor's property, have gotten the money for the poor! From the preservation of the

• jobs - already the concern of every entrepreneur at the time - to say nothing of the need to create jobs. Gregory certainly reminds the masters - for his church has always, perhaps the greatest of all its miracles, done justice to the rich and the poor, both at the same time! - also reminds the masters that slaves, as human beings by nature, are created like their masters. But no matter how equal men are created, the conditions were quite different. Therefore, according to Gregory, slaves must be admonished "to observe the lowliness of their status at all times and to offend God if they violate his order through offensive behavior". Slaves, teaches St. Pope, must regard themselves as servants of masters, and masters as -servants among servants-. Well said.

Isn't that a useful religion? From N'iatur, teaches Gregory, be -all people equal", but a -'mysterious providence- step "one lower than the other -, create the -shift The "unity of the estates", namely as a consequence of sin. Conclusion:

-Since every man does not go through life in the same way, one should rule over the other." Conclusion: God and the Church - in practice always the same for the high clergy! - were in favor of preserving slavery. And from Britain to Gaul to Italy, there was a constant Christian slave trade at the time.

The Roman Church needed slaves, the monasteries needed slaves - Gregory himself encouraged the purchase of English slave boys for Roman monasteries via the Gallic rector Candidus - they all bought, used and consumed slaves like their cattle. And the Pope was still able to assure an enemy like the Lombard king Agilulf that the work of these freemen would benefit both parties! (Soft modern thinking again - across all borders.) If the poor escaped their misery, which happened often enough, the Holy Father naturally insisted that they be returned to their masters. He pursued the runaway skiaves of a Roman monastery as well as the runaway baker of his own bender. But since

the pope was also generous, he wanted to see offenses of the -coloni- punished not by deprivation of property, but by beating and gave - regularly to his **friend slaves** - (Ri- chards).[S] -

Thus, Gregory, who proclaims the imminent end of his reign quite insistently, the -leadership- of his pontificate in addition to the faith campaign, conducts a great deal of business beforehand. He makes St. Peter an ever richer man. He raises the profile of his see considerably and decisively establishes the consequent territorial rule of the papacy. He supplied Rome with grain through his Sir.ilian latifundia, paid the imperial troops of the partes Romanae, t o o k c a r e of supplies and defense, and even commanded the Roman garrison in times of crisis. **In this way,** the -treasurer of the emperor'-, the -treasurer of the poor-, as he calls himself, the

-As his epitaph celebrates him, the "Consul of God" ushered in the development of the Papal States with an almost incalculable succession of feuds, wars and fraud.

But the papacy is already a (very) feminine hlacht and Grcgor's behavior towards Byzantium is already remarkable.

SOMETIMES STILL WITH THE EMPEROR, **SOMETIMES ALREADY CECENIHN**

During the storms of the Migration Period, Rome had taken refuge under the protection of the Eastern emperors, but occasionally acted strongly against Byzanx under the powerful Goth Theodoric

{II 3d§ ff.), indeed, even during the Goral War, at times made common cause with the -heretics, feared by some less than Caesaropapism'-. At that time, under the Gothic kings, the Catholic religious fighters did not attack Arian churches - while they were already burning down synagogues of the Jews! {II 3zi ff. 4^4)

However, after the destruction of the Ostrogoths and the subjugation

Italy under the Byzantine governor, the supreme military commander (soon to be called -exarch-) in Ravenna, the new seat of government, Rome initially danced to the Ottoman pipe (and rod) again. The Byzantine freemen extorted the same sums of money in Italy as the Goth king had previously. Moreover, they changed pt and enriched themselves on their own. It was only after the death of Justinian *(3632),* when Eastern Rome once again suffered great power, especially territorial losses, that there was another change of front in the West: collaboration with the Germanic tribes, which, according to the Catholic Handbook of Church History, was "based on pastoral considerations" rather than, as soon became increasingly apparent, on political ones.

The exhaustion of Byzantium, the wear and tear, was too obvious. In the east, the Persians threatened. Persians threatened. I n Italy, the Lombards cut Rome off from Ravenna. In the Balkans, the advance of the Slavs, the 5 heirs and the Croats began, and in Spain the rise of the Visigothic Empire. In addition, there were attempts at autonomy even within the empire, by the exarchs of Ravenna and Carthage, for example, or by large religious Aand groups, Nestorians, Monophysites and Copts. The social and economic structures also disintegrated. In short, the Empire of the East was no longer what it once was, and so with Gregory 1 the papacy began to drift away from Byzantium."

The Holy Father sometimes operated with the state, sometimes against it. If he used the secular arm in his attempt to bring the Illyrian bishops under his thumb, he acted against it in a similar attempt against the ostinate archbishoprics in the north of Italy, Ravenna, Aquileia and Milan. At that time, the bishops of the Aquileia diocese asked Emperor Mauricius for help against the Pope, as they were concerned about the independence they had gained since the dispute over the three chapters. (The schism did not end completely until around a hundred years later)."

Gregory's tactics were of course not in the interests of Maurice (8z-doz) and his reorganization of Italy. From around 8d5

the emperor ruled there through his governors in Ravenna. The first known patricius et exarchus (ltaliae), according to the official title, was Smaragdos, a capable general, who was (y8p) mentally ill for a long time and replaced by Romanos. After the Lombard invasion, the exarchs, the highest, not only military rulers in the exarchate, were left with only the Byzantine coastal areas - apart from Ravenna and the Pentapolis, the Venetian islands, the area around Genoa, Rome, Naples and Amalfi (called Ducarus after the military officers commanding them with the title of Dux).

But while Mauricius wanted to regain Italy, while his plans went even further than Justinian I's re-conquest program, while the Roman Missal still contained the prayer "that God may subdue all barbarian peoples to the emperor", Gregory approached the new rulers and came to a temporary agreement with the Lombards. At the same time, however, he pretended to be loyal to the emperor, with whom he clashed, and proclaimed his doctrine of authority, which everyone had to abide by, except him. For just as his first missionaries were setting out for the West, yqy, he also declared that the Franks surpassed all other nations because of their orthodoxy, indeed (with regard to King Cliildebert lL, to whom he sent the keys to Sr. Peter's confession): -Just as the royal dignity surpasses that of every other man, so the Frankish kingdom surpasses all other nations."

In Italy, where the Lombards were spreading, the

The emperor's power diminished. And the more it declined, the more the pope's power grew. He probably also ruled over the emperor's highest officials in Rome, both in the civil, political and military spheres; at the very least, he had a kind of supervisory right over their conduct of office and was entitled to appeal to the emperor. Gregory could therefore be called the founder of the secular rule of the papacy. Even without an ecclesiastical state, it was already a kind of state, or at least a significant power factor. Gregory's bishops, together with the

The pope was the chief magistrate of the provinces and helped determine their powers, especially the judiciary. The pope also had an influence on trade; in addition to the Senate, he controlled weights and measures. And perhaps the thing that increased his power the most was his enormous landholdings, huge estates throughout Italy and b e y o n d . "

However, Gregory, like his predecessors, was the subject of the emperor, who was his overlord; his person and government were considered sacred. It was the monarch in Byzantium who also fought against heresy, issued ecclesiastical edicts and convened councils. In a letter dated June $qy, Gregory calls the regent his -most pious gentlemen, himself -unworthy sinner", -sure man-. He obeyed the "most illustrious orders" of Mauricius, with whom he generally maintained good relations as Apocrisiar (even splendid ones with the Empress), and also rejoiced after his death in order to be just as "obedient" to the murderer. Even as pope, Gregory remained aware of his subordination, especially as even the Church in Rome was not independent and the emperor was also its master. He had the right of appointment to the Roman See; only clerics acceptable to Byzantium could occupy it. After every new papal election, the clergy and people of Rome had to petition the ruler - with tears - that he might be inclined to listen to the pleas of his slaves and, by his command, fulfill the wishes of the petitioners regarding the ordination of the person in question. The emperor occasionally claimed this right for other important Italian bishoprics as well. And both pope and clergy had to obey. Even when it came to purely ecclesiastical matters and Gregory thought quite differently, he was willing to make compromises or simply obey, as when he was ordered not to bother the Catholic schismatics who clung to the "Three Chapters". And when the emperor wanted to depose the probably insane Archbishop John of Prima Justiniana, Metropolis of Da- cia and Apostolic Vicar, the pope, as so often, r a i s e d objections, but again without dctn

to oppose the highest decision. After all, it was up to the prince to order what he wanted, as "our most pious Lord has the power to do what pleases him". If the imperial act conformed to canon law, then he wanted to confirm it, but otherwise "we bow to it, provided we can do so without sin".

Of course, Gregory's self-confidence breaks through from time to time, as he says once -my country- when he speaks of Italy. He also *points* out *that the* Holy *Scriptures* sometimes call the priests 'gods, sometimes angels'. Indeed, in his most zealous letter, he cites the example of Emperor Constantine, who allegedly burned an indictment accusing bishops with the words:
-You are gods, and you are divinely ordained. Go and decide your own affairs among yourselves, for it is not fitting for us to sit in judgment on gods.

In general, however, Gregory tactics his master skillfully, never attacking him or the state directly in the event of conflict, but rather the -sinful wclt-. And of course he does not dispute the supreme authority of the ruler, if only because he can only assert himself against the Langobarderi by leaning on Byzantium. He thus maneuvers between East and West, always looking for his greatest advantage. While he appears to serve the ruler loyally, appearing as a faithful supporter of Ostrom, he can occasionally come to terms with the enemies of the empire, he can declare the emperor's officials to be worse than the Larigo barbarians, lament the Byzantines' "wickedness", "their blackmail and contrived deceit that is ruining the country", he can even praise the overthrow of the emperor as a liberation."

THE HH LIgH FATHER EM PIEF LT BACK INJURY, SACRIFICE TAKEOVER AND OUTINOERATION

There was no good understanding between the exarch in Ravenna and the Pope. Italy, especially the territorial tangle in its midst, caused almost constant petty wars. The exarch wanted to protect the Ravenna-Rome land corridor, the pope Rome itself, but the troops were no longer sufficient. The Roman garrison, considerably weakened by the plague and without pay, was on the verge of mutiny. Gregory then took command. He commanded the city and was at the forefront of all military actions, from the appointment of officers to the operations of the imperial generals or the negotiation of truce agreements. He made sure that no one evaded compulsory military service under the pretext of serving in the church. Indeed, he even recruited people from the monasteries to guard the city walls, but avoided placing soldiers in nunneries. However, he still developed military facilities for Campania, Corsica and Sardinia. He took care of weak points in the imperial enclaves, which were littered with troop bases and fortifications. He appointed a commander for Naples and Nepe, whose population he threatened (with biblical anklam): "Whoever resists his lawful orders will be considered a rebel against us, and whoever obeys him will obey us."

Pope Gregory also sought to operate together with the three generals on the border of the duchy, Velox, Vitalian and Duke Maurisio of Perusia. (The latter later defected to the Lombard Ariulf. He *was* thus *able to* continue to rule Perusia in his name. During the exarch's counter-offensive, he returned to the service of the emperor - he had grasped the essence of politics! However, after the reconquest of Pcrusia }q3 by the Lombard king Agilulf, Duke Maurisio was unable to prove his agility again and lost his head).

Pope Gregory, whose accession to the throne coincided with the change of throne of the Lombards, also held it with them.

as things stood, which was certainly8 not easy¡, if only because he had to deal with three religious groups at once. Firstly, a major problem, with the heresy of the Arians, the faith of the king¡ then with a residual paganism, apparently mainly centered in the Duchy of Benevento, where there were no longer any Catholic dioceses; and finally with schismatics, since the Catholic Lombards supported the "Three Chapters, as did almost all the bishops of the Lotribardy, with whom Gregory was therefore at war.°'

He pursued a varied dual strategy against the Lombards, who haunted Gregory's steps as robbers and murderers. He sought to subjugate the enemies of the land, in whose sphere of influence the Church had lost all income, through war and mission, sometimes operating against them, sometimes with them.

When Ariulf of Spoleto, a pagan, was expected to attack Rome or Ravenna, Pope Gregory did not preach Christian love of the enemy. Rather, he announced reinforcements from Rome to the magistei mi- litum Velox and encouraged the three generals to attack the duke from behind. He wrote to Velox at the end of September yqi: -If you find out where Ariulf is heading, whether towards here or Ravenna, you must proceed as brave men in his rear …- Ariulf's attack failed. But the next year the matter was repeated, and now, in July yqz, Gregory again ordered a rear attack, precisely on the zq., Petri Mä>Y°flFtag. The "great" pope, the saint and ecclesiastical cleric, also advised plundering the ducal territory and taking hostages! The military should take care of their honor, but not refrain from anything, to which he repeatedly insisted, -which was more advantageous for the empire,
-what the advantage of the state demands". He reported the last position of the Lombard army and emphatically ordered the enemy positions to be plundered."

Of course, Gregory also tried to reach agreements with the Lombards, and at times actually came to an agreement with them, as they were militarily stronger and the real masters in the

Land - and finally only grids with neither dead nor de-
slaves were successful.

After the truce, he also concluded a peace treaty on his own initiative, certainly to his advantage, but at the expense of Ravenna and the empire. But twice a siege of Rome in two years might be enough for him, a respite to improve the command structure, the armor, seemed desirable t o him, the gold paid, oo pounds, hurt him, even more the business that had been greatly diminished by the war for years. So he could tell the Lombard king in peace:

-'Had it not b e e n concluded, which God forbid, what would have happened but that the blood of the miserable peasants, whose labor benefits us both, w o u l d h a v e been shed to the shame and ruin of both parties?"

It remains to be seen whether he was more concerned with the blood of the peasants or the benefits of their labor. In any case, he negotiated at times with both Ariulf and Agilulf, but at the same time contacted the imperial officials, the emperor, who reacted very unkindly, strongly condemned Gregory's behavior, accused him of naivety; indeed, in Ravenna, where Exarch Romanos resided, there was such a harsh poster campaign against the pope that he excommunicated the rulers. It was only when Romanos y9S ors 7 died unexpectedly and was succeeded by the Gregory-friendly Galileo.
licinus, who, with the involvement of the pope, was able to
to resume and conclude the peace negotiations with Agilulf. Both the king and the exarch signed for two years, but the pope, very strangely and once again highlighting his dubious siruarion, refused to sign himself, but allowed others to d o so on his behalf."

Gregory was ultimately successful via the {schismatic)
Catholic Queen Theudelinde, the widow of King Authari, one of the no longer rare suggestive Christian ladies in the bed of pagan princes, guided by the Church (pp. zo9 f.).

The papal confidant to this Bavarian prince, with whom Grtgor soon corresponded eagerly, was, in addition to the

The monk Sekundus, the Queen's influential advisor, was the Milanese Orthodox deacon Constantius. He was, no doubt in the spring of i9i, not without Roman assistance. Gregory, who knew that Theudelinde was quick to do any good work (Paulus Diakonus), began to correspond with her in the same year; she did not even see his first letter, which Constantius returned when it was still too late.

carefully, to the pope, and he worked him over. He also sent her oil drawn in ampoules from the lamps of Roman martyrs, a sliver of the cross of Christ, vials of the Savior's blood and four of his miracle-working operas, as well as gifts for the royal children. In 6o3, Theudelinde had her son Adaloald baptized as a Catholic, as had her daughter Gundiperga before her. The godfather of the heir to the throne was Sekundus, the servant of Christ (Paulus Diakonus)."

Without Theudelinde, who was directed by the Pope, the baptism of Kroripririzen would not have taken place, like many other evil pious works. "Through this queen, the Church of the Lord gained many advantages," writes Paulus Diakonus. And finally, King Agilulf, who had the rebellious dukes of Verona, Bergamo and Pavia **killed** around 5qJ, also embraced Catholicism or at least tolerated the missionary efforts of his wife and her advisors, which prepared the way for the gradual conversion of the Lombards. Columban {S. 4•)

and built a monastery, a future center in the
Fight against Arianism and paganism."

The Roman Goth showed himself in all his pernicious shabbiness during an overthrow in Byzantium.

MA PST G REG OR UMJUBE LT A K IS M A RDER

When the Eastern Roman troops were to move into winter quarters for a campaign in the Balkans in 6oz, but for reasons of economy moved beyond the Danube, a mutiny broke out under the leadership of Captain Phocas. He conquered the capital, dethroned Maurikios and was murdered on z3. He and his wife Leontia were crowned emperor by the patriarch on November 3rd (6oz-6io). Almost immediately afterwards, Phocas had the four younger sons of the emperor, who had fled to the supposed protection of a church, murdered in front of their father, who is said to have shouted each time the mortar knife twitched over a child: -You are just, O God, and your judgments are righteous!" Maurikios himself was then aborted. And shortly afterwards, his eldest son and co-regent Theodosius, the papal godchild, was also aborted.

To avenge the Blurtar 2u,4 Maurikios' ally, Shah Khosro 11th, the last Sassanid Great King (later also liquidated), had several thousand killed in Dara and Odessa.
captured legionaries. Phocas, for his part, also killed the rest of the imperial family, the Empress Constantine and her daughters, who were imprisoned in a nunnery. Moreover, according to the Catholic church historian Karl Baus (iq8z), "the divinely appointed chief had several hundred relatives, senators and supporters of the assassinated ruler killed between 6oa and 6io."

Too weak to be politically independent, the pope, despite his insubordinate rapprochement with the Lombards, still had to seek protection and support in Constantirople. But just as it did not bother him to temporarily take the side of the enemy of the empire on the one hand, and to be friends with an emperor who, after a campaign against the Avars, preferred to have his own captured soldiers massacred rather than ransom them, St. Gregory did not hesitate to immediately make common cause with the murderer of the entire imperial house."

Phocas nd mlich, the heir to the throne, the emperor and empress,

'rinzen- und Prinzessinnenmörder, whose anarchic re

The "years of the twentieth century were among the bloodiest epochs" (F. G. Maier), a

-The most catastrophic reign in the entire history of the empire (Richard's), this centenary was now celebrated in Rome. The Pope reacted with jubilation to the news of the death of Mauricius, to whom he and his family had written such friendly, wonderful letters! And when the portraits of the new majesties arrived in Rome on April 6oj, the -laurata-, the laurel wreaths, were met in the west with lighted candles. Clergy and nobility shouted during the homage ceremony in the church of St. Ccsario: - Hear Christ! Phocas to Augustus and Leontia to Augusta long life!" And Pope Gregory placed the portraits of the highest couple in the Lateran Palace in the oratory of a m a r t y r, St. Caesarius, and at the same time wrote to the honorable usurper woman, urging her to defend the Christian faith!"

The imperial headhunter himself, however, was assured by the papal

In May 6o3, Gregory the Great wrote that "the Holy Spirit dwells in your house" and wished that "the whole people of the state, w h o have been so sorrowful until now, may be glad through your good deeds!" "Glory be to God on high, who, as it is written, changes the times and transfers the kingdoms," Gregory the Great rejoiced. -The destinies of human life vary according to the Almighty God's uncr- cunning counsel. Sometimes, when the sins of many are to be punished, one is raised up whose harshness bends the necks of his subjects under the yoke of affliction, as we have long experienced in our trial. At times, however, the merciful God decides to visit the many afflicted hearts with his consolation and raises a man to the summit of the reign, through whose compassionate mind he pours the grace of his] faith into all hearts. We in Bdlde, who rejoice that Your pious Majesty has reached the heights of emperorship, believe ourselves to be lifted up by such exuberant rejoicing. Let the heavens rejoice and the earth exult" etc. etc.

1st not splendid! To a saint, the "great" pope and Doctor of the Church, written all too appropriately, from the middle of the murder pit of his cowardly, yet power-seeking heart *1!* The same emperor whose son Gregory, murdered by Phocas, was once
- At the height of his time as nuncio, he now defames the murderer as a punishment for the sins of many, as a brutal oppressor. And he celebrates the murderer of this emperor, the murderer of his entire family, as the messenger of the merciful God, the giver of comfort and grace to all hearts, as a pious majesty. Fie on you, Pope!

And as early as July öo3, Gregory wrote to the usurper couple in Constantinople: -Peter shall be the guardian of your empire, your protector on earth, your intercessor in heaven for lifting the heavy burdens and bringing joy to the subjects of your empire.-'°

öo8 a column of honor was erected in Rome on the Forum Romanus to the bringer of joy. And while the other sdules and statues all around perished without a trace, the column of Sheusal lasted - oh beautiful symbol! - the column of the monster lasted two
)ahrausende, the last surviving imperial column in history. No wonder, since the majestic monstrosity was given to her by Pope 8onifas IV, a Benedictine venerated as a saint {Fest: xy. May) venerated as a Benedictine saint!

But after all, Phocas had not only exterminated an i'taiser and his **family**, **with** whom one did not always get along so well in Mom, despite Gregory's **baptismal** patronage, but the crowned state bandit had also left Pope Boniface the Pantheon, the magnificent pagan temple dedicated to all gods, as the name suggests: solemnly transformed into a Christian church by the pontiff in May 6oq, consecrated in honor of Mary and all martyrs (S. Maria ad Martyres) and endowed with many martyrs' relics - blood for blood, so to speak, and one hand washes the other - for the countless deeds of charity ..." And since the pantheon once served all the gods, Boniface introduced the feast of All Saints with the consecration of the church. That i s called tradition."

Especially ecclesiastical historians were supposedly astonished and dismayed by Gregory's behavior. But he only did what his peers always did, it seemed necessary (since always useful means, again, as a rule, adaptation to the most potent). Or, according to the Catholic Stratmann {with an almost notorious phrase in such cases):

-The pope viewed the situation from a very high vantage point, and his praise is all the more understandable s i n c e Caesar Mauricius, with whom Gregory initially harmonized just as much as with his murderer, ultimately hindered the papal influence and encouraged the Patriarch of Constantinople to take the title of General Bishop (p. isi ff.).

When Gregory's apocrisiar died in Constantinople, he did not appoint a successor; he interrupted diplomatic relations with the emperor and patriarch. Only when the rightful ruler was removed by usurper Phocas did Gregory send a nuncio to the court again. Phocas was emphatically pro-Roman from the outset. And while he became more and more violent in the Orient, where he had mono- physites and Jews bloodily persecuted, while his strict orthodox church policy provoked street fights in Constantinople and civil war-like conditions in the eastern provinces, so that he was finally literally torn apart by the rebellious crowd and put on games, Rome loved and honored him more and more. In a decree addressed to Boniface III, Gregory's second successor, he recognized the apostolic church of St. Peter as the head of all churches (caput omnium ecclesiarum)."

That was the decisive factor. The pope and church teacher could turn a blind eye, as he always did when it was to his advantage. This was the case, for example, with the mission that was particularly important to him, when he "taught" the Angles people to believe in Christ from the power of Saran through his work, when he

-Our people, who were still in the bondage of idolatry, were made into a church of Christ", as church teacher Bede Venerabilis writes in his "Historia eccle- siastica gentis Ariglorum", completed in 73i.

T H E PROPAGANDA IN EN G LAN D BEGINS

The beginning of Christianity in Britain is obscure. It probably came to the island during the tenth century through merchants and soldiers, professional groups that the oldest Christianity (cher) had despised. But even later, the first Christians in the north were apparently Scandinavian merchants. in the year3*4 *lfld three British courts are attested as participants in the Synod of Arles.'*

Roman rule over Britain, founded in q3 AD by Emperor Claudius with four legions (just under Zo ooo men), WäA UIT4 hung to eleven. 38d Theodosius gave the
Hadrian's Wall, at the beginning of the y. century the Romans moved
under Stilicho (II zi If.) and Constantius III (II q}) they finally retreated. Called to help by the Britons because of attacks by Picts and Scots, Germanic tribes, the Celtic and Saxons, then also the Fennels, formed a series of opposing regional kingdoms: Kent, Sussex, Essex, Wessex; later Mercia, Northumbria and Middlccsex. Sometimes this state gained supremacy, sometimes that one. But the time is
between 4so and öoo, the -Dark Agcs-, is still the most un- caned era in English history."

In the days of Gregory, the province of Britain in the ancient Roman area consisted of the Romano-British kingdoms in the west and the still pagan kingdoms of the invaded Anglo-Saxons on the islands. Gregory wrote to Bishop Eulogius of Alexandria in August 5q8 that the people of the Aryghians "dwelt in a corner of the world" and had so far still been worshipping tree and stone … – a beautiful, meaningful worship after all (cf. p. 3)

Towards the end of the 6th century, King Aethelberht of Kent married the Catholic Merovingian princess Bertha, a great-granddaughter of Clovis, a niece of Brunichild and daughter of the Frankish king Charibert of Paris. She had Bishop Linthard in her entourage and was allowed to hold Christian services, while Aethelberht himself remained a pagan. But since he was in England

had become the most powerful king and was recognized as overlord (bretwalda), Gregory hurried and sent yq5 or *596* the prior of his monastery of St. Andrew, Augustine, and some4 monks to the -barbarians - with detailed instructions and instructions.

Augustine's recommendations to the Frankish rulers, Queen Bruennichild and her grandsons Theudebcrt and Theuderich. However, difficulties in Gaul, horror rumors about British barbarism that reached them in Aix, forced Augustine to return to Rome. Gregory promoted him to abbot, promised his monks -the glory of eternal reward-, sent him off again with letters of recommendation, and finally they landed on the island of Thanet, on the east coast of Kent.

Augustine, who had become bishop on papal instructions during the voyage, announced the best message like Aethelberht, namely that all who obey him should have eternal joy in heaven and a kingdom without end together with the living and true God, and that this was the pure truth.

from Paris, remained skeptical for the time being: -Of course, the words and promises you bring are beautiful; but because they are new and without guarantee, I cannot readily endorse them and abandon all that I have held sacred for so long with all the Angelnvolke - "

Unfortunately, Aethelberht gave his kingdom to the Roman monks for their advertising. And since b1o8e sermons and empty promises did not do so, Pope Gregory (in his introduction to the Book of Job) rejoices that after the heavenly words had been uttered, the

-The -appearance of brightly shining miracles powerfully complemented the -sweetness of their heavenly teaching-, with Beda, who was already seven years old when he was put into the monastery, -the manifestation of heavenly signs". Augustine, soon to be Archbishop of Canterbury, boasted to the Pope that he and his Munich were gifted with miracles almost like the blessed apostles. And Gregory generously confirms it from afar, but also warns not to fall into arrogance, because -the souls of the Angles are drawn to inner grace through external miracles.

A jam mer that we all the mumbo jumbo, these fiufieren miracles, do not have on video. Probably nothing would be more enlightening ... So instead of Odin's service, Druids, now Roman plates-

reign, Trinity and Pctrus tales, etc. At Pentecost7 or, somewhat more likely, not until 6oi - if at all - the king was baptized with many Angles, and the Frankish bishop Liuthard, probably the decisive pacemaker, was baptized.

now immediately pushed aside by the Romans as superfluous. The conversion is of course not certain, but Aethelberht is certainly the founder of three episcopal churches in Kent and Essex: Canterbury, Rochester, London, which were already4• at Augustin's death,

existed. And the king protected in his predominantly female

At his death in 6i6 (or 6i8), however, it is certain that his son and successor Eadbald was still a pagan, as was probably his second wife.

In 6oa, reinforcements and supplies arrived from Rome - the beautiful successes, says Catholic Seppelt, made it ... necessary. Abbot Mellitus, two years later already Bishop of London, hurried over with his bckutted troops, with all kinds of jewelry, church utensils, relics and several papal letters, including a letter of greeting to the Kentish royal couple, which the Roman high priest compared to Emperor Constantine and St. Helena. News of the conversion had reached as far as Constantinople. There was also a call to destroy paganism and continue the work of conversion, with warnings of the horrors of the final judgment. -So, my most illustrious son', Gregory wrote to the king, 'carefully preserve t h e grace you have received from God and hasten to spread the faith among the people subject to you. Increase still more your noble zeal for conversion; suppress idolatry; destroy their temples and affairs; strengthen the virtues of your subjects by excellent moral behavior and by admonishing them, instilling fear in them, attracting and chastising them, and showing them an example of good works, so that you may be rewarded in heaven by him from whom you were raised.

have spread your name and knowledge on earth. **For** he whose honor you seek and defend among the nations will also make your glorious name even more glorious for posterity."

So writes the preacher of humility.

But if expediency demands it - always their supreme guiding principle - Gregory can also be more tactful, strike a seemingly conciliatory tone, which sometimes sounds comical, he can also tell his "most beloved son", Abbot Mellitus, leader of the new advertising crowd, what he has decided - after long reflection on the matter of the Angles. One should not destroy the pagan temples of this people, but only the idols in them; then one should sprinkle these temples with holy water, erect altars and place relics there; for if these temples are well built, they can b e completely transformed from a place of demons into houses of the true God, so that if the people themselves do not see their temples destroyed, they will heartily cast off their error, recognize and worship the true God and gather in the usual places according to the old custom. tlnd because they are accustomed to slaughtering many oxen in honor of the demons, this too shall be transformed into a kind of festival: on the day of consecration or on the birthdays of the holy martyrs whose bones rest there, they shall build huts of branches around the churches that have arisen from those temples and celebrate an ecclesiastical festival. Then they no longer sacrifice the oxen to the devil, but **kill** the animals in honor of their search **mause** Gort."""

O n c e again: Isn't that a wonderful religion?

If the temples are "well built", the devil's work does not need to be polished, no, then it can serve as God's work. Only the idols **need to** be destroyed: old **idols** out, new ones in. And the many oxen c a n bleed to death, on and on, as if this religion had ever had anything against the slaughter of animals and people: nowhere was slaughtered anymore! Only in honor of the -devil- may no more

be slaughtered. -Goti- in honor but flofi there until today more blood than for all other "idols" and "devils" combined.

The old temples were naturally joined by new ones.

When Augustine built a monastery near the royal city of Canterbury (whose first abbot, Peter, as legate, drowned in the sea on a journey according to God's inscrutable decree), he persuaded Aethelberht to rebuild a church of the holy apostles Peter and Paul from the ground up and to give him rich gifts.

{Beda). All for the greater glory of God. A little for his servants too. For the church had devised Archbishop Augustin as a modest burial place for himself. And for his successors. And for the kings of Kent. Even in death, people want to be among themselves - if only because of humility ..."

BI LD DESPISERS AND DOOMSDAY PROPHET

Recent scholarship praises this pope as having a well-regulated course of study and a very thorough education, -a cultural and moral education of the highest order- (RAC XII •9 3). However, there is no further information about Gregory's scientific training. In fact, it no longer existed at all in this late Christian period. - Criticism and judgment were extinguished, writes in the middle of the iq. Century Ferdinand Gregorovius. - We no longer hear of schools of rhetoric, dialog and jurisprudence in Rome." Instead, he finds that "more than ever, mystical enthusiasm and the material Xultus have made room". And the much younger Jeffrey Richards also states: - Philosophical and scientific training had long since ceased." Gregory had only studied Roman law, probably, and still had a last remnant of classical education.

However, some people have recently tended to use our church light for

to shine as brightly as John Diaconus, who was commissioned by the Pope in the late q. century to write a pompously transfigured Vita Gregorii Magni in four books. In the late qth century, he was commissioned by the pope to write a pompously glorifying Vita Gregorii Magni in four books, in which Gregory figures as a master of grammar, rhetoric and dialectics and Rome under his aegis as "a temple of wisdom which the seven arts overthrew"."

His writings themselves, however, are little, if at all, influenced by antique education, which he also explicitly rejects. Quotations from the classics are conspicuously absent. The worldly wise -lie", says Gre- gor, "they only make up, change vain words, shiny facades without real content; may often be so, more or less. At any rate, hardly anyone in Rome knew Greek back then. And the pope biographers in the Liber Pontificalis show how badly Latin was written. Grcgor's own language also testifies to the decline of Latin. His style is often wearying, monotonous, vulgar, the tautologies pile up. Syntax and grammar hardly touch him, indeed, he boasts, admittedly an ecclesiastical commonplace, that he does not follow grammatical rules, since such things do not bind the Holy Spirit. He almost boasts about it. It is quite unworthy to bend the words of the divine oracle under the rules of Donatus {ut verba caelestis oraculi restringani su b regulis Donati).

For Gregory, the only relevant philosophy is found in the Bible --his supreme authority" (Evans). And all the wisdom of the world, science, the beauty of literature, the "liberal arts", all of this basically only serves the understanding of Scripture itself, i.e. a life of constant covetousness and contrition. But Gregory rejects, suppresses and eradicates everything that is not directly useful to religion, as uneducated philosophically as theologically.

It is not impossible that the pope, one of the four "great" Latin church fathers, the patron saint of scholars, had the imperial library on the Palatine (where the Western Roman emperors, their Germanic heirs and the Byzantine governors still resided) burnt together with that of the Capitol8. In any case, the English scholastic Johannes von

Salisbury, Bishop of Chartres, claimed that the Pope had deliberately destroyed manuscripts of classical authors in Roman libraries."

Gregory was not a goliath, perhaps a great little monk fanatic, within the limits of his time. He eagerly propagated asceticism and secularism. And he himself suffered from a chronic stomach ailment until the end, apparently as a result of rigorous fasting. Later, he also suffered from gout, which he often complained about. At times he was plagued by shortness of breath and fainting spells. According to Peter de Rosa, he was also "a martyr of the hackles" (which the chronicler of the dark side of the papacy - as if there was also an essential, equally essential light side! -to the wine that the high ascetic imported especially for himself from Alexandria. Yes, says another modern papal historian:

-What the body lost, the spirit gained- {Gontard) - although this is actually known quite differently: mens sana in corpore sano. With the devalued body, however, the spirit also degenerated, that of an entire Christian millennium, especially in comparison with the classicism of the Greeks and Romans (III d. ch.).

Gregory often strongly expresses his contempt for this education. As a Roman, he particularly rejected Greek culture. In all his years in Coristantinople as the official papal representative, he never learned Greek, as his **predecessor,** the former apocrisiar and murderous pope Vigilius, had of course already done.

i ‹*7 ., esp.‹4 ff.). Gregory could neither read nor write Greek and there are indications that he considered it an inferior language. After all, he was a man of temporal knowledge.

the clergy's preoccupation with the world of the

-free arts --, harshly hostile. Around 6oo he denounced the Gallic bishop Desiderius u,on Vienne in an infamous letter because he taught grammar and classical literature. Filled with shame, sorrow, -great disgust-, he accuses him of grave impiety-, a downright blasphemous occupation, since the same mouth -could not possibly sing the praise of Jupiter and the praise of Christ-.-*

who should also think, judge and appreciate culture differently.

The author, who was obsessed with the delusion of imminent doom - a factor that Gregory's laudatory Jeffrey Richards, who dominated every aspect of his thinking in social, political, thcological and ecclesiastical matters - could not have been a factor. (Flood catastrophes, plagues, the decline of the empire and Rome, the Lombard invasion with devastated cities, ruined castles, destroyed churches, rotten land, plus his own misery of an increasingly frequent, then almost permanent sickness, bedridden, all this strengthened his belief in the near end of the world, often enough prophesied by the Bible and the old church fathers as imminent, predicted by Bishop Hippolytus of Rome (I i5q f.) for the year yoo.) predicted it for the year yoo.

It is almost reminiscent of the end-time fever of Jesus, the apostle,

a!l of the early Christians, who exchanged all of them ¡ 7 -) without harming Christianity! D "fi Pope Gregory is just as serious about this is rather doubtful.

become. But again and again he declares that the world is old and gray, that death is approaching, that we can already see how everything in the world is perishing, that the end of the present world is already near. Therefore, look forward to the approaching day of the eternal judge with an attentive heart and anticipate its horrors through bufie. Wash away all stains of sin with trances. Calm the wrath that threatens with eternal punishment ..." In his sermons in particular, he described the catastrophe that did not come to pass - in shattering language - (Fischer).'*

Anyone who reads Gregory's writings - but who still reads them - will have to agree with Johannes Haller if he is not blind to the Church - Ignorant and superstitious, spiritless and tasteless, they make it embarrassingly tangible to what low level of education Rome had sunk since the Justinianic war period ... Even his relatively best writing, the Regula Pa- storalis, is basically nothing more than a collection of commonplaces.""

OF OXEN, DONKEYS AND G REGORS HIOBKOM MENTA R

Pope Gregory's works - -an eloquent testimony-, according to the Catholic Seppelt, -of his high abilities and the power of God that was inherent in him - - are in reality brimming with spirituality, ignorance, superstition, banalities and absurdities. Scholars as diverse as Mommsen, Harnack, Caspar, Haller and Dannenbauer agree on this. The saintly pessimist, who so brazenly laments the misery of the times and rejoices at the same time because it, once again, announces what is true, does not shy away from any silliness of theological interpretation. He not only teaches us that the bishop's long hair symbolizes his external worries, while the tonsure symbolizes his inwardly directed thoughts, but he also sees the God-human nature of Jesus proven by the fact that he hears the blind man calling as he passes by, but heals him as he stands still, because: 'Man's nature is movement, but God remains eternally the same!

Gregory, who in his 35 books Moralia in Job propagates a threefold interpretation of scripture, already in the fourth book no longer concerns himself with the historical meaning and from the fifth book onwards only interprets allegorically and morally, and this although he knows that all meaning is lost if the historical meaning is ignored!"

However, this makes the procedure much easier. And so his allegorical artists hardly know any 'boundaries', like those of Ambrose or Augustine (cf. III 32 ff.,379 ff.).

Still heure, however, a certain science bows deeply before Gregory, the -fcin-sighted exegete-, his -meanship in the Moralia in Job- (Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum} comes fully to light for them. Written as a consolation for himself and others, already begun in Constantinople and completed in Rome around §qy, the pope's monumental opus bears eloquent witness to his deep knowledge of human nature and enlightened wisdom of life (Albaner/Stuiber).

Job himself, for example, is the type of the redeemer, his

Woman is of course a type of carnal life. His seven sons are on the one hand morally the seven gifts of grace of the Holy Spirit, but on the other hand allegorically a prophecy of
the twelve apostles, because 7 is 3 + , but in 3 x 4 The oxen in the Bible sometimes symbolize the stupid, sometimes the good, sometimes the Jews; the donkeys symbolize the Gentiles; the sheep and camels symbolize the Jews.
the converted Jews and Gentiles. However, the camel could also be understood as Christ or the Samaritans. The locust symbolizes Christ's resurrection. "For like the locust, he flew away from the sins of his persecutors by the leap of his sudden resurrection." A horse described in Job 3q, iq ff. (-As soon as the trumpet sounds, it assures -Hui!'-) symbolizes five things at once, including a pious preacher, whose prtdigr comes from within him like the neighing of the horse!"

It is no wonder that as early as the middle of the 7th century, Bishop Taio of Zaragoza made a pilgrimage to Rome full of reverence to read the part of Gregory's book that he and all Spaniards were taught.
to copy his famous writings, which he still lacked. No wonder that these writings caused a sensation in both the West and the East. Gregory's allegorical interpretation of the Bible had a "profound after-effect" on medieval monks and moral theology (Baus). And apparently beyond that. For this pseudo-prominent StuB continues to have an effect. After all, the influential Bonn-based Catholic church historian Karl Baus accuses a great historian such as Johannes Haller of -lacking understanding for the religious and moral qualities" of Gregory and, in the same breath, praises the -faithful people of Italy and later the other countries of Western Europe for having -received the greatness of the heart - of this pope - with a sure instinct and -willingly allowed themselves to be influenced by Gregory's religious world for hundreds of years".

Poor *idiots* - paid dearly enough.'-

Triumphs of abstruseness, not to say folly, in no less than 3s books, by himself -libri morales", in the Middle Ages, to whom they served as a moral compass, -Magna Mora-

lia- and always excerpted, compiled, compiled and very widely distributed. And this oldest, most extensive creation of Gregory's established his reputation as a writer (-deifluus-), as a moral theologian: the spawn of a mind that placed his contemporaries and posterity above Augustine, as an incomparable prince, whose operas were displayed in copies or excerpts in every medieval library and stultified the West for centuries! Dannenbauer rightly comments that Job did not suffer as much from Satan as he did from his interpreter Gregory, who did not feel the slightest of the linguistic power and beauty of the grandiose work. -No great work of poetry has ever b e e n treated more cruelly in all of world literature."^

The famous pope's book, which, like everything written by Gregory, was devoid of any originality, but which, it was said, summarized what the three other "great Latin fathers", Tertullian, Ambrose (cf.37*), Augustine, (himself) had already written.
and the ancient exegesis of Catholic luminaries
This grandiose opus freely deserves indulgence. It was written in a state of illness, according to its author himself, who continued: - For when the body is weakened by illness and the mind is also depressed, our efforts to express ourselves become equally weak. A weak Won for so many weak ones. And he defends - shall we say otherwise? - that it was all "indirectly inspired by the Holy Spirit". But since the rapst was almost constantly ill, often, according to his own confession, tortured by constant and intense pain, since such confessions accumulate in his letters, since h e rarely left his bed in the second half of his term of office, indeed, his agony grew the longer he held office, his spiritual weakness also grew, as far as p o s s i b l e - if one may take his own explanation as a basis. And perhaps all this in constant cooperation with the Holy Spirit …'

EVEN THE G REATER'S BIGGEST STUMBLE STILL POINTS "FORWARD" ...

The situation is no better, rather worse, with the four books published in yg3/§qd -Dia1ogi de vita et miraculis patru m ltalicorum", in which Gregory's deacon Peter is only a fictitious interlocutor in order to justify the form of an exsudai, which even earned him the name Dialogos. The papal language here often approaches vulgar Latin even more than usual, but for Prelate Josef Funk this is only proof of "how close Gregory was to the people. He demonstrates comprehensively and with his own bravura that even in his time the miracle still flourished, the prophecy, vision, that, despite all appearances, God the Lord is still at work"; but that not only the Orient shone with miraculous ascetics and monks, but also, as credible sources, priests, bishops, abbots and others assure him, his own fatherland. And half a dozen miracles, heavenly decorations, gifts of the Holy Spirit,
-He claims to have experienced it himself.

Of course, it is hardly surprising that hardly any of these gifted saints are known - Paulinus of Nola aside; likewise Benedict of Nursia, Gregory's monk idol, whom we only know through him (and he only knows it from hearsay). Benedict plays a starring role throughout the second book. No wonder that these saints, at least in the first book. 37 '*ft third book,
hardly accidental, remain blaB, while the miracles hdufig really
are strong pieces. And it is no wonder that K. Suso Frank has recently attributed a generous measure of creative power to the papal Doctor of the Church, saying: "The historian first finds much that is good about the narrator, but then little that is certain and reliable in the narrative "*.[2]

The grandiose work -Dialogues on the Life and Miracles of the Italic Fathers- became rapidly and unusually popular with divine and spiritual help. It exerted the broadest influence on the afterworld {H. J. Vogt). It h e l p e d , via the Lombard queen Theudelinde, to convert the Lombards to Catholicism.

win. It was translated into Arabic, Anglo-Saxon, Old Icelandic, Old French, Italian and, by Pope Zacharias
(74**75 ^l. a Greek who was distinguished above all by his intelligence, who did not allow himself to be deprived of it. It was to be found in all libraries and especially broadened the spiritual horizon of the religions. It was read -by every educated monk- and even created with its school-making
Insights into the beyond, but above all with his numerous miracle dizzinesses -a new type of religious pedagogy- (Gerwing). Not enough, Gregory's dialogues pointed "forward"; they represented (together with his -Hornilia , a kind of forerunner of the -Dialogues- and similarly stunningly simple) -the result of some of Rome's darkest hours-, as one wrote with delightfully unintentional irony, represented the "new form of knowledge" for the Middle Ages, -the new culture ... rather simple truths - the suffering, the religious, the good ..." (Richards)[e] '

There is no lack of the strange, the cruel, the superstitious, here called virtutes: Healings of linden trees, raising the dead, exorcisms, miraculous multiplications of wine and oil, apparitions of Mary and Peter, the appearance of devils of all kinds. Miracles of punishment were particularly popular with the chief. Fear-mongering was (and still is) the great domain of the priests.

It is no coincidence that the fourth and last book - for the edification of many (Gregory) - revolves very drastically around death, the so-called last things, reward and punishment in the afterlife - extra mundum, extra carnem. During the pestilence of Anno 59o, Gregory affirms that in Rome one could see with one's own eyes how arrows shot down from heaven and seemed to pierce people. A homesick boy who had escaped from the monastery for just one night out of longing for his parents died on his return the same day. But when he is buried, the earth refuses to accept "such a shameful criminal; they repeatedly hurl him out until St. Benedict lays the sacrament on his chest." - The perpetrators were, of course, they, who, for the sake of ecclesiastical power and profit, imprisoned children for life in a monastery.

Pope Gregory the Great records a whole series of revivals of the dead: by the priest Severus, St. Benedict, a monk from Mount Aigentarius, the famous spirit- swearing Bishop Fortunattis of Todi, who also immediately restored the sight of a blind man with the bIo8e sign of the cross. On the other hand, an Arian bishop was struck blind. And in Lombards, dragged out of a church by monks, the devil leads.

St. Gregory tells us about the multiplication of wine by Bishop Bo-nifatius of Ferentino, who used a few grapes to fill whole barrels to overflowing. And Prior Nonnosus of the monastery on Mount Soracte in Etruria moved a stone by his prayers alone that "fifty pairs of oxen" could not have moved from its place. St. Gregory reports how Maurus, a disciple of St. Benedict, walks on the water --O miracle, unheard of since Peter, your apostle1!-¡ like a -brother gardener- training a snake that is a thief; how a raven removes a poisoned loaf (--In the name of our Lord Jesus Oiristi take this loaf and throw it in a place where no man can find it!' Then the raven opened its beak …-) Gregory the Great! A nun forgives a head of lettuce before she eats it, -blessing i t with the sign of the cross-, so that she also honors Satan, who roars out of her mouth: "What did I do? What am I doing? I sat quietly on the lettuce plant, she came and bit me … - Wicked woman. But a saint drives Satan out of her again, thank God. Gregory the Great!

But there are at times helpful, servile devils, even and especially devoted to the clergy, obeying them to the letter.

-Come here, devil, and take off my shoes!" a priest casually orders his servant and is promptly served by the devil himself. Oh, Gregor knew the devil in many guises, as a snake, for example, Amscl, as a black boy and a filthy monster. But *he* didn't *know* him as a ghost. Yes, foresight - enlightenment was necessary.

St. Bishop Boniface does one thing after another with Gregory. Once, when twelve pieces of gold were urgently needed

he went to St. Mary, and already he had what he needed in his sack, so to speak, in the folds of his robe he suddenly had twelve pieces of gold that shone as if they had just come out of the fire". St. Boniface gives away a wine barrel whose wine never runs out, even though people drink from it all the time. Or the caterpillar miracle, the grain miracle - no, Gregory is allowed to
-not to pass over in silence-. When St. Boniface saw how all the vegetables were being destroyed, he turned to the caterpillars and said: -I implore you in the name of the Lord, our God Jesus Christ, go away from here and do not feed me these vegetables!" Immediately they all departed at the word of the man of God, so that not one of them remained outside the garden.""

Even as a young boy, Boniface worked miracles. When his mother's barn was almost empty due to his generosity, the sustenance for a whole year, the boy of God, Boniface, immediately filled it up again through his prayer, and that by so much,
-as she had not been before. And when the fox took one chicken after another from the mother, the boy Gortes, Boniface, hurried into the church and said aloud: "Do you like it, O Lord, that I get nothing to eat from what the fox draws? For behold, the fox eats the chickens she draws." He then rose from his prayer and left the church. Immediately the fox came back, let go of the chicken he was carrying in his snout and fell to the ground dead before his eyes.

This is how evil and evil is punished. But this is also how one becomes a church teacher and "the great" - at least all this outrageous nonsense, which generations of Christians have believed and *should of course also believe, does* not exclude these highest honors of a church in which one i s of course accustomed to consensus. From an early age throughout life ...

Punishment miracles have always been popular. Sometimes a fox drops dead, sometimes a minstrel. The main thing was to see the power of

One day, St. Boniface was dining with a nobleman and had not yet opened his mouth in praise of God,

let alone take it full "to refresh myself", then, he says indignantly, a poor minstrel comes along with his monkey and strikes the cymbal - outrageous! They steal his thunder. The saint is furious and prophesies death to the 5troublemaker several times. And as he is leaving, a stone falling from the roof hits him. So that everyone understands the moral, Gregory writes: -In this case, Peter, it suggests itself that one must show great reverence for holy men; for they are temples of God. And if a saint is provoked to anger, who else is provoked to anger but the inhabitant of that temple? So much the more is the wrath of the righteous to be feared, since in their hearts, as we know, is present the one whom nothing prevents from taking revenge as he wills."

Revenge, the favorite child of the religion of love.

According to Johannes Haller {mufiten!) these blatant pieces of wonder, -praised to posterity as a model and guideline ..., could have an inhibiting and formative effect for centuries". Recently, even the editor of the "Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum", who almost completely glorifies Gregory in view of all the miraculous and monstrous things in the four papal books, has come to this conclusion: -The question remains whether this conception of the divine and the miraculous does not also correspond to the need to lower oneself to the level of the faithful and the requirements of popular belief'- ... For they, the Christian scholars, do not themselves believe that he believed it, the patron saint of scholars. The most devout churchman (not only today) can no longer b e l i e v e that, can the

He could not have been a "great pope". So he lied to the devil* Well, it would be finer to say: he only gave the people - according to the saying "I have mercy on the people" - what the little one needed. That was the whole -necessity-.

And Karl Baus, recognizing Gregory's "greatness" precisely "in his comprehensive pastoral work", does not mention the so very - pastoral- dialogues with a single word in the Gregory chapter of the multi-volume Catholic Handbook of Church History.

His student, the Tübingen church historian H. J. Vogt, on the other hand, admits in the same standard work that Gregory's saints or, as he somewhat insinuatingly puts it, -heroes are hardly known-, ergo -the dialogues can only be used as historical sources with caution-; this sounds better, of course (but is not), than calling the vast majority of what is written therein a hoax. But Vogt atich opens his chapter on Gregory with the grandiosely comical sentence in view of Gregory's greatness: -Gregor
d. Gr., the last of the many great Latin Doctors of the Church, lived in a time that neither demanded great intellectual achievements . . nor allowed …- A la bonne heure! Well said, really.'-

The signpost also enriches the topography of hell for centuries. Its entrances, he reveals, are fire-breathing mountains. And the fact that the craters in Sicily are constantly increasing in size is explained by the (once again) imminent end of the world: as a result of the onslaught of the damned, wider entrances to hell are needed! Whoever goes in there will not come back. But, as Gregory knew, certain deceased people were released from the fire of purgatory for up to 3o massesii¡ according to a monk who had broken the vow of poverty. But Gregory also knew that not everyone would be redeemed from limbo, that even children who had died at birth would burn in eternal fire. Popes *are* simply informed. And Gregory, whose doctrine of purgatory is the theological background
-for the Knit of the Soul Masses {Gregorian Masses)- (Fichcinger), passed on his information about hell and tea/el - certainly at first hand - to the Middle Ages, to modern times, where it stimulated poets and artists, from the people not to re- den . . .'°°

Since the present age, as the Pope repeatedly emphasized, is approaching its end, the question of hell simply suggests itself. Where does it even lie? Gregory ventures this
"not to be decided lightly. But from the words of the Psalm -You have redeemed my soul from the lower hell-, he concludes with razor sharpness -that the upper hell is on earth, but the lower hell is under the earth-. He is certainly right about the upper hell. As far as the lower hell is concerned, for Gregory

and substantiate Mt. 4 also biblically - that whoever goes to hell must burn eternally. {So, progressives who now want to extinguish hellfire - because it has become unbelievable - have not only the great pope and church teacher against them, but also Jesus and countless other church luminaries,) According to Gregory, the eternity of the torments of hell is -quite certain and undoubtedly true, and yet - he would not have to be a clergyman, and what a clergyman! - he teaches, -is their

The agony of fire does you good.

Good for something?

Hard to imagine for us. Eternal agony ... What is that supposed to be good for? But we are ignorant. But if you are a Pope and a saint and a Doctor of the Church and "the Great", you just know. It is good for the righteous, for all the dear little angels in heaven, who are rewarded and edified by the sight of the misery of the damned (just like in paradise), for whom this is a promise of eternal bliss, of eternal happiness - - for the righteous recognize in God the joy of which they are made partakers, and see in those the torment from which they escaped; thereby the more they see sin eternally punished, the more they shall recognize their eternal duty of gratitude to divine grace . .'"°'

Isn't that a glorious religion, the religion of love?

OILIQUÉS - OR LIES,
THAT THE BEAMS BEND

Gregory also represented the most abstruse belief in relics, and his influence continues to this day.

Despite the abundance of relics, however, they were not without their rdnkr. The pope took the path of "multiplication", for example by touching the corpse of the apostle and thus putting consecrated cloths into circulation. Or by filing off iron rods from the alleged chains of St. Peter and placing them as - benedictiones sancti Perri- in

sent all over the world; of course only to those in high places, especially to princes. When placed on the sick or worn on the body, for example on the neck, they performed miracles. The Pope bartered with the Patriarch of Alexandria. In exchange for -benedictiones- Peter, he acquired those of the apostle Mark. He sent the Spanish king Reccarcd a piece of Peter's (supposed) necklace, a cross with supposed wood from the cross of Christ and even hair from John the Baptist? The Frankish king Childebert received keys of St. Peter with parts of the necklace. Queen Brunichild also received rc- liqu ies of the Prince of the Apostles. The Gallic patrician Dynamius also obtained pieces from the roast of St. Lawrence, who was slowly roasted to death, through Gregory. Indeed, Pope Gregory managed to send the remains of the Baptist's roasting as well as two shirts and four handkerchiefs -ex be- nedictione S. Petri-.'°'

These are strong pieces from the Grofien!

But there were a lot of relics. And true treasures

**^ i *4* ff.). Treasure and bone diggers traveled around on behalf of bishops or on their own initiative and for their own account, selling their more than dubious finds. Gregory himself imported an archangel of the apostle Luke from the Orient, as well as one of the apostle Andrew, undoubtedly rarities. And the skirt of St. John the Evangelist, which he also allegedly acquired, is said to have worked the most beautiful miracles even centuries later and to have brought rain or sunshine when shaken out in front of St. John Lateran - just like its ancestor, the lapis manalis, the rain stone of the god-believing Romans, which caused the same miracles from century to century during their processions on the Via Appia!'"

Apparently displeased by Gregory's generosity, the Empress Constantina, wife of Emperor Mauricius, immediately asked for St. Paul's head or at least a "limb from his body". Of course, this was asking too much, but Gregory was not at a loss for excuses or miracles. It was a crime worthy of death, he lectured the high woman, to touch holy bodies,

just to look at them. He himself had observed a commissioner who had touched the bones of St. Paul at his tomb, not even those of the apostle (dJzs is immediately believed), but was killed. And Pope Pelagius I or 11th, the expert who came up with miraculous divine punishments continued, had once had the tomb of St. Laurentius, who had been roasted to death, opened - and all the monks and wardens who had touched the body of St. Laurentius had died within ten days. But the pope offered to have some of St. Peter's chains filed off for the monarch, if he succeeded; often one files without anything falling off.'°*

They lie so that the beams bend.

Although in Christianity almost all kitsch and all sorts of absurdity had already flourished, Pope Gregory's histories surpassed much of what had gone before. The books are teeming with tales of devils and angels, of tawdriness of every kind: demons wrestle grotesquely with heavenly spirits; a bdr herds sheep; a nun fries a devil; at the death of another, the II. Romula, Anno y$o in a Roman monastery, Gregory claims that angels, "male and female 5timers sing alternately in delightful choirs"; a drirtc is cut in half and charred in half because she has been garrulous. All apparently meant to be deadly serious and, as I said, taken at face value and believed by many generations.

But the best thing of all: despite all the miraculous things, the many miracle-working relics that Gregory constantly sent out, which his diplomats in particular gave away, sanctioned sensations, so to speak, which could already be manufactured in Rome, despite everything, he himself, who was suffering from stomach pains, podagra, gout, ever new ailments, litr and 5q8/5qq almost two years after his death, was helped.

)ahre was lying in bed, nothing. He became, by his own admission, • plagued by it-, lamented -Martcrn without sub- laS-. He wrote to the Patriarch of Alexandria: -My pains will neither give way nor kill me- - and praised the fabulous healing power of his relics in accompanying letters when sending them to the sick.

was able to help some people after his agonizing death.
lei worked miracles.'^

This pope now, who compares the priests to gods and angels, who forbids his subordinates to criticize even bad superiors, who teaches obedience to the authorities, but disobeys even the emperor, who initiates the development of the Papal States with chains of wars of robbery and conquest that can hardly be overlooked, who collaborates with the most comforting bloodhounds of his time, with Phocas, the Brunichild, who approves of the war of rebellion and aggression, who advocated raids from behind the scenes, the taking of hostages, who propagated beatings, torture, imprisonment, high taxes for conversion purposes, who promoted anti-Semitism, suppressed literature and the sciences, whose works were full of hair-raising nonsense, all kinds of miracle and relic kitsch - this man became a saint of the Catholic Church, was the only pope of the Middle Ages and modern times to be given the epithet -the Great - and - since the 8th century {Leo t. only since the 8th century} - the Great Pope. Century {Leo t. only since the i8th) - the rare title of -Church Teacher-. For Bernard of Clairvaux, also a Doctor of the Church (Schiller, of course, called him a "scoundrel"), he became the prime example of the successful interaction of female and spiritual ruler duties, was probably the most quoted church author among theologians, canonists and publicists, and became one of the most widely read writers of the Middle Ages, for a long time a model for the uncounted and an ideal figure of the papacy.

But P.E. Schramm also attests to Gregor -Grölte-
even in the spiritual field, a "mouth - bad enough - "who wanted to speak the language of the next half millennium"; yet even Catholic church scholars of the second century still celebrate Gregory as one of the most important pastors among the popes (Baus}. But Catholic church scholars of the 20th century still celebrate **Gregory as** one of the most important pastors among the popes (Baus), "one of the noblest, purest figures in the chair of Peter" (Seppclt/Schwaiger), and also see him in a place among the greats of the heavenly realm (Stratmann). Harnack, of course, hardly more learned than the aforementioned together and probably also more honest,

Gregory rightly called him -pater superstitionum-, the father of superstition.'°'

And the great Reallexikon für Antike und Chri- stentum also sees Gregory I at the end of a detailed appreciation as *a* -junction of cultural and spiritual transition, filter and at the same time creator of values, who realizes a new attitude of mind and shows the way to it, which is now definitely Christian ..."'°': - bad enough.

Gregory 1 was often unable to effectively assert himself against unruly bishops or even lost out. He had virtually no influence on the development in Spain, the catholicization of the Visigoths. With the Merovingians, where he tried to gain a say by making all possible concessions and issuing all possible warnings, he was completely rebuffed; neither a reform of the Frankish church nor even the synod he had demanded came about. The Merovingian imperial church became even more independent of Rome than it already was. He also had hardly any resounding successes against the Lombards. And even his greatest glory, the catholicization of England, soon withered and collapsed, albeit only after his death. His successors had to start all over again and achieved what is falsely attributed to him.'°'

Gregorian chant, however - this jewel of the kirehe (Daniel-Rops), still at least nominally known to many of those who otherwise know nothing at all about Gregory, does not originate from him, however much sentimental Christians dislike hearing it. In reality, only a few and minor liturgical changes can be traced back to him. However, throughout the Middle Ages, the Gregorian Sacramentary, the Missal, the Gregorian Canon, the Mass hymnal and Gregorian chant were considered to be the work of Gregory, who rewrote, improved and increased the traditional church chants. More recent research denies him this almost unanimously; the evidence is impeccable. Nor was he, to whom all kinds of praise songs were attributed, a hymn writer - apart from outpourings on great criminals such as Phocas and others."'

When Gregory 1. on ia. March <4 *Carb, the world had become increasingly dark for him. He was ill, unable to walk for the last few years, almost constantly bedridden, from 5pain harassed, oppressed. The Lombards, not paid by him, threatened Rome, whose population, afflicted by famine, cursed the pope, even burned his books, had not his pupil Peter saved them from this. But -the world-, as Paul's deaconus wittily comments, had to suffer -hunger and thirst because after the death of such a great teacher there was drought and lack of spiritual food in the hearts of the people"! It is c l e a r t h a t Paul had also learned from the great man. And while Gregory was revered in the north after his death, he was almost forgotten in Rome itself for centuries, probably as a result of the world clerical victory over his monastic regiment."°

That these power-hungry intolerants, these spiritual poor Pope could call the "Father Europass, it honors Euro-

CHAPTER 8

BRUNICHILD, CHLOTAA II. AND DAGOBERT I. OR "THE CHRISTIANIZATION OF THE IDEA OF KINGSHIP"

• . a wild political animal . j. Richards on Brunichild'

-Gcrade under this ruler - as can be clearly documented - the Christianization of the K--'B^B *^* * reached a first climax.- H. H. An'on on Chlotar II.*

• . Gotr iibtr all Msfien gtfällig . . . he listened before atltm to the advice of St. Arnulf, the bishop of the city of

Merz ... he continued to rely on the advice of his household master Pippin and Kunibert, the ßishop of Cologne -. Fredegar over Dzgobcrt 1.'

-He terrified all the kingdoms in the surrounding area - Liber historiae Francorum*

ÜAPST G nEGOR I.
HOPES A WILD PO LITICAL Tie"-

Meanwhile, in the Frankish kingdom, the Merovingian senior king Guntram had died childless after a series of death threats and assassination attempts. However, after the death of his own sons, he had adopted his eldest nephew Childebert 11th (yyJ- q6), who was still a minor, and left him his wealth, so that he ruled over two kingdoms, Austrian and Frankoburgund. Of course, Childebert, who in the last period of his life crushed rebellious Bretons in the west and rebellious warriors in the east, a Thuringian people between the Saale and Elbe rivers, was soon completely under the influence of his mother.

The powerful Brunichild, for a long time the leading figure in the Frankish Empire, had yy5 enforced the rule of her five-year-old son in Austrian and decided the ensuing power struggle with the Austric greats on Guntram's side for herself and the kingship. This was expressed in the Treaty of Andelor (pp. i 3o f.), which contained intra-dynastic tensions and curtailed the influence of the atistocracy. Even when Brunichild ruled after the early death of her son Childebert (yqs), perhaps, together with his wife, through Ci*'iü,* for his sons, who were only ten and *new* years old, her grandsons Thcuderich lt. of Burgundy and Theudebert II. of Austrian, she played the politically decisive role, becoming even more important.

On the other side, in Neustria, where Chlotar 11 (s 4 -s), who was only three months old, had followed his father Chilperich, his mother Frede-

gundc of decisive importance. After Guntram's death, the enmity between the two kings now raged unrestrainedly, with Brunichild and Childebert lI holding all the cards. They held almost the entire Frankish kingdom in their hands, with the exception of a narrow strip of coast north-west of Paris. Although Fredegunde quickly conquered Paris and other cities in the west, she died in 59S or in the year
on it.'

Many bishops, including Sigimund of Mainz and his successor Leudegasius, were naturally devoted to the ever-powerful Brunichild, who was also personally devoted to the church, a devotee of St. Martin, a patron of his cult, a founder of houses of worship and a benefactor of Catholicism. Gregory I also courted her. And his very lively correspondence to the disreputable and unscrupulous queen is characterized entirely by the same slimy praise that he also gave to the imperial bloodhound Phocas. Yet there is every indication that the pope was well aware of the methods of this "horrible woman" (Nitzsch): "a powerful woman who often enough walked over dead bodies, a wild, political animal who was prepared to do anything to retain power" (Richards).

Nevertheless, in his letters the Holy Father completely ignores Brunichild's grave family quarrel. He sees her, her son, her kingdom, towering above all other kingdoms through the right faith - "like a radiant lamp sparkling and shining in the nightly darkness of unbelief". He repeatedly thanks her for supporting his English missionaries on their journey through the Frankish kingdom. He praises her -love for the Apostle Prince Peter, to whom I know you adhere with all your heart. He asks for their help against Simonists, schismatic groups and pagan cults, often in vain, of course. Gregory exhorts Brunichild to prevent the worship of sacred trees and other idolatries by coercive means and orders the use of beatings, torture and imprisonment to convert recalcitrant pagans. (But when John the Faster of Constantinople [p. i6 i ff.] accused an Orthodox monk of - Ket-

Gregory yq5f5p6 cnergically stood up for the beaten man).

Of course, the pope also sent relics to the queen. Indeed, just as he had already appointed the Bishop of Arles as Vicar Apostolic at the request of her son Childebert, he also, however reluctantly, conferred the pallium on her favorite and advisor Syagrius of Autun, without any knowledge of a corresponding tradition or precedent; without the prelate himself even deeming it necessary to ask the pope personally¡ even though the bishop was suspected of supporting the schismatics and had even ordered a schismatic to Rome to represent him. (Syagrius nevertheless became a saint; feast: August 7).

Auttin, moreover, was not a metropoÍitan chair. Syagrius' Metropolis and therefore superior was Bishop Aetherius of Lugdunum. However, when he requested the palliory from the Pope, Gregory refused b e c a u s e t h e r e w a s no precedent. Apparently, he only wanted to award the pallium to special protégés of the crown. For even when Childebert şqş requested it for Archbishop Vergilius of Arles, the pope promptly fulfilled the royal request. On the other hand, he did not think to ask the bishop Desiderius of Vienne (p.4). who also requested the papacy requested to be honored with it. Desiderius belonged to what Desiderius, who must have been sympathetic to the pope, belonged to a reformist wing of the Frankish Church, but for this very reason he was not held in high esteem at court. Desiderius was persona non grata with the queen, who had him deposed in 6oz or3 by the Council of Chalon-sur-Saóne for un- the court, banished to an island monastery and sent to his return on May zj. 6O7 Steinigcn lieÊ-.

Pope Gregory also took the monastery of St. Martin, founded in Autun by Brunichild and Bishop Syagrius, under his express protection (io9q its monks poisoned Abbot Hugh). Xenodochium was also founded by the pious queen (and later c o n v e r t e d into a women's abbey). Just as the nunnery of St-Jean-le-Grand in Autun can also be traced back to BrunichiÍd, who wrote the Catholic "Lexicon

for theology and churches in general against -the church arbitrariness and violence (to weaken the treason of Pippin and St. Bishop Arnulf of Metz: p. z3O ff.).

Gregory I wrote almost a dozen letters to the powerful queen, who supposedly commanded the church, most of them in the honey-sweet flattering tone that he also u s e d with the imperial family, the (later) murder victim as well as the murderer.

The first Papstepistel began in a relatively subdued manner: -Your Excellency's praiseworthy and godly acquisition is shown both by your government and by your son's upbringing- But soon i t increased. And during the -Gregorian chant actually has nothing to do with Gregory, here cc could sing in ever higher tones: -How great gifts God has bestowed upon you and with what gentleness the grace of heaven fills your heart, this is not only testified by your other merits, but is especially generally recognized from the fact that you rule the raw hearts of pagan peoples through the art of careful cliigheir and, what is even more glorious, add the ornament of wisdom to royal power." After all, Brunichild was not only powerful, she was also of service to the church. She made numerous donations to it, built abbeys and was even asked by the pope to reform the Frankish church and protect church property.

But when Brunichild's power began to waver, Grcgor's tone changed immediately. -'Take care of your soul, take care of your grandchildren, for whom you wish a happy reign, take care of the provinces and think of the mending of iniquity before the 5Creator stretches out his hand to strike ... -'

RUNICHILD'S DOWNFALL AND THE FIRST CLIMAX OF CHRISTIANIZATION

THE KING'S THOUGHTi'l S

On Childebert 11's death, his two sons succeeded him in the throne: Theudebert 11th (ypy-dix) in Austrasia, Theu- derich II *9-6i $ j in* Burgundy. *In* fact, at first Brunichild *reigned* for the still underage grandsons, who only gradually, after reaching adulthood, began to intervene in the renewed battles with the Neustrian royal house. However, the Australian high aristocracy revolted. They joined forces with Chlotar II of Ncustria, and Brunichild, already close to gaining power over Galicia against him, was expelled from the court of Metz in *599* - by a group of her own nobility who had (previously) conspired with Neustria - and happily handed over to her preferred grandson, Theuderic 11.

In Burgundy, whose actual mistress she soon became, she continued the fight against Chlotar and, in order to t a k e revenge on her Austrasian opponents, drove Theuderich against his brother Theudebert of Austrasia, not a king but a gardener's son, as she constantly said. In the year 6oo, the two brothers had jointly defeated Chlorar II, who was if'year old at the time, on the Marne, devastated and plundered his kingdom and r e d u c e d i t to a narrow coastal strip around Rouen, ßeauvais and Amiens. As late as 6oz, they had also fought the Basques together and - with God's help - made them subject to tribute. But then they fought each other bitterly and bloodily. And Theuderich, once raised from the baptism by the great miracle-working bishop Veranus of Cavaillon (who healed -sotort by God's grace- with the mere sign of the cross), defeated Theudebert twice through the household emperor Warnachar, once in May at Toul, then in a second battle at Zülpich, for which Bishop Leudcgasius of Mainz in particular had incited him: "Finish what you have begun; you must b r i n g this matter to an end with all your might", said

-the holy and apostolic Lord Leudegasius- as king, and who accomplished the matter - under God's guidance.

Fredegar reported that never in living memory had the Franks and other peoples started a battle so fiercely. There was such murder among both armies that where the two armies opened the battle, the bodies of the dead found no place where they could have fallen, but stood squeezed between the other bodies as if they were still alive. But Theuderich, under God's guidance, defeated Theudebert again, and Theudebert's men were massacred as they fled from Zülpich to Cologne, covering the surface of the earth in places. That same day, Theuderich arrived in Cologne and received all of Theudebert's treasures there - Theuderich had his brother tonsured in Cologne, where the Franco-Burgundians had arrived, and later beheaded and killed his entire family. Even his

'-still a very young son-, Fredegar reports, - was seized by the foot by one of (his men) and thrown against a rock; his brains came out of his head ..." End of one of the countless purely Catholic fratricidal wars.

The victor now sought to rule the whole of Gaul and was already arming himself against Neustria. But when, at the height of his triumph, he died unexpectedly at a young age in 6i 3, his sons were also murdered by Chlotar II of Neustria, the son of Fredegunde and Chilperich; not, however, the godchild Merowech, whom Chlotar imprisoned in a monastery, but otherwise embraced with the same love with which he had raised him from the holy baptismal font (Fredegar)'.

After Theuderich's death in Metz, Brunichild immediately had his eldest, her ten-year-old great-grandson Sigibert II, elevated to king of Austrasia and Burgundy. However, the Greats of Austrasia forbade it. Led by the ancestors of the Carolingians, the two renegades Majordomus Pippin the Elder and Ar- nulf, the future saint and bishop of Metz, they went over to Chlotar II. And after the high treason of the Austrasian Aristocracy, the queen was also taken over by the Burgundian feu-

dalherren and the Hausmeier Warnachar. They had decided this from the outset - the bishops as well as the other female grandees - reports the contemporary chronicler and states as the aim of the pious front -not to let a single one of Theuderich's sons escape, but to kill them all and then to destroy Brunichild and seek the reign of Chlotar ...". This sealed the downfall of the queen, the elimination, indeed, the extinction of the Austro-Hungarian line of the Merovingian dynasty and at the same time the victory of the nobility over the crown.

Brunichild's army deserted at Chalons without offering any resistance. She fled to the Jura and tried to escape into the interior of Burgundy. But in Orbe, near the lake of Neuchatel, she was captured by the Frankoburgundian Hausmeier and handed over to her nephew. Clotar, who was entirely church-minded and as God-fearing as he was cruel, was compared to David as the first Frankish king {cf. i g ff.), whose piety was emphasized by Fredegar, a ruler who gave the Cleves new rights and rich gifts, guaranteed him the freedom to elect bishops, remitted all levies from his estates and was generally mild and full of kindness towards all, In 613, this youngest son of her mortal enemy Fredegunde had the seventy-year-old woman tortured for three days, then led on a camel by his soldiers, finally tied with her hair, one arm and one foot to the tail of the wildest horse and dragged to death until limb after limb fell off (£redtgar). The bones were burned. Their descendants, their great-grandchildren, with the exception of Prince Mero- vech, Chlotat's godson, were also wiped out.

A modern researcher, however, writes: "It was precisely under this ruler - as can be clearly proven - that the Christianization of the idea of kingship reached its first peak - {Anton). And the monk Jonas of Bobbio triumphs in his Vita of Columban: -When Theuderic's whole lineage was now exterminated, Chlotar alone ruled over three kingdoms and Columban's prophecy had been fulfilled in everything." (Jonas could easily know

he wrote when everything had long since -crfü1lt-; the old hoax of the Bible: vaticinia ex eventu).

The king's special patron saint, l i k e that of his son Dagoberi, was St. Dionys, his treasurer was the later Bishop Desiderius of Cahors; and the subsequent bishops Paulus, Audoin of Rouen, Eligius of Noyon and Sulpicius of Bourges h a d also previously held offices at the royal court. Chlotar 11, resided in Paris, the capital of the entire empire, and was now recognized throughout the Frankish kingdom. However, he had to pay the price for his support, both to the clergy and the nobility, and reward the Austrasian greats with the Edictum Chlotarii and the installation of his son Dago- bert as tJnterking in Austrian. The high aristocracy had thus been strengthened.

Pope Gregory, however, had miscalculated. It was not Brunichild, not the Austric branch that emerged victorious from the incessant atrocities, but the Neustrian Chlotar II, to whom Gregory sent only one of hisi4 preserved letters.

sen. In 6-4, the king convened an imperial synod in Paris - the beginning of the Franconian regional church, independent of Rome for a century'.

Frankish church leaders were of course more involved in the politics of the empire than Pope Gregory. For example, the aforementioned Bishop Leudegasius of Mainz (p. zzy f.). Or the bishop Leu- demund of Sion. Or St. Arnulf of Metz.

THE ST. HocriVeRs OF MET2

Immediately after Chlotar's 11th accession to power, there had already been a conspiracy in Bur- gund, in which another Seelenhirr played a decisive role.

In the conflict over Queen Brunichild, several leading figures of the rtgnum Burgundiae, the Hatismeier Protadius (öoq) and his opponent, Patricius Wulfus, were killed.

Chlotar II appointed Herpo as duke in the Transjuranian Gau, in what is now western Switzerland, a Franco-Burgundian who had joined him early on. However, Herpo was also murdered: on the orders of Patricius Aletheus, also a chief buyer of 6i3, and Bishop Leudemund of Sion. The latter then rushed to court, at the time in Marlenheim near Srrafiburg, and informed Queen Berthetrud that her husband was to die and that Aletheus, an (alleged) Bufgundian royal pro- fessor, was to replace the defendant in kingdom and bed. Sitten's bishop advised Berthetrud to dispose of herself in Sitten and take as much of the state treasure as possible with her. Chlotar, who experienced the attack, took bloody action against the rebels and had Aletheus executed, but Bishop Leudemund, who had fled to Luxeuil Abbey, was pardoned.'°

The traitor Ar- nulf, the ancestor of the Carolingian dynasty, was far more involved in major politics.

This scion of a dynasty located between Meta and Verdun, son of 'very noble and wealthy parents', as his vita naturally states, had already come to the court of the Austrasian king Theudebert II (yq5-diz} as a boy and later ruled as domesticus - at that time standing roughly between the comites {counts) and dukes (dukes) in terms of rank - over a series of large fiscal districts, six crown estates. In return, together with Pippin the Elder and an Australian aristocratic opposition, he had helped the Neustrian Chloiar II to rule over Austria and Burgundy as well, he had called upon the enemy against his own royal house, whereupon di€sef Ä13 had advanced as far as Andernach. And in return, the renegade Arnulf became bishop of Metz the very next year, chief shepherd of the country's capital, whose kings he had betrayed. Of course, the future saintly bishop was merely, according to his contemporary biographer, "forced to do so with tears and only because it pleased God. But while he presided over the bishopric, he also retained the office of steward and the chairmanship of the kings' council, again against his own will.

nigspfalz". (The other traitor, briefly mentioned here for the first time, friend Pippin the Elder, eventually became the House Emperor at the Hot of Dagobert I.) And soon, so that no shadow would fall on the rebels, almost everything around him became holy, the Gatrin, the edÍe, St. Itta, the daughters, St. Gertrude, St. Begga, the sister, St. Amalberga and some side relatives. Itta, the daughters, St. Gertrude, St. Begga, the sister, St. Amalberga and some side relatives - one and the other, at least in Belgium, have been venerated to the present day.

It is said that the unfaithful ArnuÍf was plagued by his conscience after his historic villainy and planned to enter a monastery. However, he then preferred to ascend to the bishopric of Metz in 6i4 and, after the appointment of Chlotar's son Dagobert I as Austrasian sub-king, took over the tutelary government with Pippin.

The treacherous change of front of the -übcraus holy Lord Bishop Arnulf" (beatissimo vero Arnulfo pontifice: Fre- degar) had paid off. Arnułf now alternated between military and pastoral duties. Militarily, for example in Thuringia 6aq or in suppressing the rebellion of the agilol finger Chrodoałd, whose head was chopped off at the door to his castle (Fredegar). -Who," praises Arnulf's vita (written by the multiple eyewitness), "would be able to describe his bravery in war, his skill in the use of arms? He often overcame the hosts of hostile nations in battle - and even as Council Father 6z6 in Reims,•7 'II Cli-
chy, Bishop Arnulf championed the Frohø Botschaíì before he 6aq actualÍy returned to a solitary life in the Vosges, the Wasgenwald, near the Remiremont monastery.

Liturgical veneration began as early as the end of the 8th century and the feast of St. Arnulf was mentioned for the first time. One of his sons, Chlot(d)ulf, was also canonized and became the drifter successor of his father on the Metz bishop's see (which he held for øz years), so insignificant in fact that Paul Diakonus, the oldest chronicler of the Metz church, has nothing to praise about him other than the fact that he was his father's son, -a rice from the

noble lineage-. The other son of St. Arnulf and his wife Doda (of course "the daughter of a noble house", who then went to a monastery in Trier), Ansegisel (Adalgisel), who was then slain in the course of noble feuds, married Pippin the Elder's daughter Begga. Their marriage produced Pippin the Middle." The bishops' striving for power was also strongly evident in Burgundy later on. This is demonstrated by chief shepherds such as Lcodegar of Autun (p. a86 ff.), Genesius of Lyon, Savarich of Auxerre and his successor Hainmar. Dicser is even said to have seized the entire duchy of Burgurid and collaborated with the foreign Duke Eudo of Aquitaine. At the behest of Charles Mar- tells, Bishop Hainmar was finally captured and killed during an escape attempt."

öz2föal, Chlotar and his son Dagobert once again fought the Saxons with strong forces and took barbaric action against their leaders. The king devastated the whole of Saxony, rescued the population and left no one alive who was bigger than his sword, the so-called Spada. The king set this as an example in that region … (Liber historiae Franco- rum). 6zq he died and was buried in the church of St. Vincent near Paris."

-fear and fear" and
PERPETUAL DEBIT UNDER DAGOBERT I.

The young Dagobert was already SC*r *3 AIS sub-king over Austrasia, guided and advised by Pippin and Bishop Arnulf of Metz. On the death of his father in 6z9, Dagobert took office as overall

He moved the seat of government from Metz to **Paris,** which he definitively made the center of Frankish kingship, and as the last Merovingian once again ruled the entire Frankish kingdom (6k i 391-

His younger brother Charibert II, who was nevertheless capable of ruling,
who also claimed the paternal inheritance, displaced Da-

goberi quickly moved to the far southwest. There he was allowed to rule over Aquirania as sub-king and subjugate the rebellious Basques in 63i. Charibert's partisans, including his uncle and mentor Brodulf and other opponents of his own rule, were liquidated by the king 6aq/ö3o in Burgundy. The rest crawled to their crosses, including -aIIe bishops. And when Charibert himself died a year or two later and his young son Chilperich followed him, strangely quickly, to his death

- Fredegar writes that he was killed at the instigation of Dagobert, who took back the ceded Aquitaine and Charibert's treasures."

The ruler elevated his two-year-old son Sigibert III to sub-king over Austrian with his residence in Metz. Bishop Kunibert and Pippin's son-in-law, Duke Adalgisel, were responsible for the child, g i v i n g them plenty of room for maneuver. Bishop Kunibert in particular, who had the Cologne

He took over the bishopric around 6z6 and after 4 *tßrb, was one of the most influential prelates of AuscHensÜ* as archbishop of both Dagobcrt and Sigibert III.

Before his departure, the king once again strengthened the kingdom. He defeated the Basques in the south, took action against the Peace in the northern border regions and extended his rule beyond the Meuse and Waal rivers. In doing so, he supported the Christian priests by imposing compulsory baptism. In particular, the monk and bishop Amandas operated here, who had established two monasteries in the Ghent area and a monastery near Tournai, Saint-Amand. Bishop Kunibert also "worked" on behalf of Dagobert as a Frisian missionary in the protection of the fort of Unrecht and in the north-eastern fringes of the empire, on the upper reaches of the Lippe and Ruhr rivers, which then played a major role in Charlemagne's slaughter of the Saxons.'-.

As he united enormous power, Dagobert 1. was courted and highly esteemed by the clergy - even though he had lost his wife Go- matrude and, in addition to numerous other wives (to name them all, says Ftedegnr, would be going too far), three women, Nanthilde, the former handmaiden, Fulfgunde and Berchilde, were equally valued.

at an early stage. Ecclesiastical circles, however, celebrated the scine leudcs plundering lecher with biblical tones as a ruler of justice. He favored many dioceses, especially Augsburg, where he was regularly prayed for, Constance, Basel, Strasbourg and Speyer. Around 637, he founded the diocese of Tčrouanne (Boulogne), generously privileged monasteries and, like his father Chlotar, clearly favored the houses of the Irish missionaries as places of education for the offspring of the nobility. The king granted fiscal property for the foundation of the abbeys of Solignac and Rcbais and also built the monastery of Elno on the Scheldt as royal property. He decisively supported the abbey of St-Denis, the later famous burial place of Frankish and French rulers, to which he granted extensive lands, including from confiscations of rebels he had eliminated, as well as a share in the customs revenues of the Mediterranean port of Marseille, together with further privileges - such great treasures and many villae and bcsinings at various oms that it caused great astonishment among most people (Fredegar). And following the example of King Sigismund in St. Moritz and King Guntram in St. Marcel of Chalon, Dagobert led the way in the Parish Basilica (partly decorated by him with gold, silver and precious stones). -rtgelrecht paved over": Angenendt) the -laus perennis-, the perpetual prayer. The king also promoted the cult of St. Dionysius. He gathered a circle of religiously intcrmated men around him, including a saint, St. Eligius, then a goldsmith and mint master, later Bishop of Tours.

MisSiON AND Mnsszxxn

Under Dagobert 1, whose main advisors after Bishop Arnułf of Metn included Bishop Kunibert of Cologne, the Íink9rhein paganism was increasingly combated and all Jews in the empire were forcibly baptized. (T h e r e were also anti-Jewish attacks in the East, with the expulsion of Jews from Jerusa-

lem.) Dagobert also opened the Frisian mission with an order to baptize the Frisians, to which he had formally committed Bishop Kunibert. And just as the king waged war in the south, west and north, just as he hcimsuchie the Basques, Bretons, Saxons and Tiles, so too did the Slavic empire of the French merchant Samo, the first Slavic empire ever, which was concentrated around Mshren but stretched from the Ore Mountains to the Eastern Alps. 3*
Dagobert, with the help of the Lombards, wanted to take it through a Zan-
from the west and south. However, his army ended in disaster at Wogastisburg {Kaachen an der Egei) after a three-day battle. The Sorbs between Saale and Elbe, who were already under Frdnkian sovereignty, then joined Samo, who ruled for 35 years. However, the Mainlaride and the Duchy of Thütingen remained, as before, special military districts, Frankish deployment areas against Avars and Slavs.

Perhaps in connection with the debacle at Wogastis- burg is a gruesome bloodbath by the frosty Dagobert (in all probability) in 631/f@Z, BlS thousands of Bulgarians had fled from the Avars to Bavarian territory. At that time, the king had those seeking protection north of today's Linz, together with their wives and children, murdered in a nightmare in violation of his hospitality in order to get rid of the unwanted immigrants (and not least their leaders).

The only source reporting the Bulgnren genocide can be found at Fredegar4.7*: -After their defeat, the Bulgarians, gooo men with women and children, were expelled from Pannonia, wor-
whereupon they turned to Dagobert and asked him to take them into Frankish territory for permanent settlement. Dagobert gave the Bavarians the order to take them in for the winter, while in the meantime he wanted to discuss with the Franks what should happen next. When they were now distributed among the individual houses of the Bavarians for the winter, Dagobert, following the advice of the Franks, ordered the Bavarians that each of them should provide the Bulgarians in his house on a certain night with

Killing women and children. This was immediately carried out by the Bavarians." All but 7 of the gone people {who escaped to Duke Walluc after the Windisch ivlark) were killed.
butchered."

The primary motive for this monstrous slaughter was presumably -the destruction of the Bulgarian master class" (Störmer}. Initially, this had nothing to do with -mission-, but with Ostpolitik, u@ which, of course, had a lot to do with -mission-. -Mission, catholicization and pastoral care in the 6th ly. Karl Bosl writes immediately after the announcement of the great massacre: "In the 6th century, mission, catholicization and pastoral care were closely connected with the French king, the official duke in Bavaria and the Frankish aristocracy in the West and East: -Not by chance is the name of the last great Mcrowinger king Dagobert I, who pursued a vigorous eastern policy, so strongly emphasized in the prologue of the Lex Baiuarium One knows of the close cooperation of Dagoberts and St. Amandus -

Yes, we even know that the -rex torrens- was considered a saint - like other mass murderers, such as Karlmann (p. 36q f.} or Karl -the Great". And finally, we know that St. Amandus accused King Dagobert of "capi- talia criinina" - which no other bishop dared to do - "a saint to a saint", whereby the crimina concerned less the ruler's sex life than his violence."

But that was an exception. For nothing prevented the ancient chroniclers from comparing Dagobert, the great butcher, the initiator of the Bulgar massacre and otherwise not squeamish, with Salomon, the -rex pacificus-, celebrating him as -benefactor of the church- (ecclesiarum largitor), as a -powerful nurturer of the Franks" {fortissimus enutritor Francorum), who had brought peace to the whole empire and earned himself respect even among the neighboring peoples - which, however, is (also) read in this way: -He terrified all the kingdoms around him (Liber historiae Francorum). Despite this, or perhaps because of it, he died after a short illness on iq. January 638 o r 39
deceased -great-, -powerful- Merovingian ruler, the

Dagobert I. as the "good king", as the -bon roi Dagobert- still lives on today, especially in France.[1] -

After the king's death, the Frankish kingdom was divided between his two sons in accordance with his ruling. Austrasia fell to Sigibert III, Neustria and Buigund to the four-year-old Clovis II, for whom the queen mother Nanthild acted, but not alone. As both heirs to the throne were still minors, the real power in each part of the realm was exercised by a noble Hausmcier: Grimoald in Austrian, Erchirioald in Neustria, Flaochad in Burgundy. '[2]

The Hausmeier (Maior doinus, Maire du palais), an ancient amr in almost all Germanic tribes, was initially just one court official among others. In the late eighth century, however, he rose from the administrator of the royal household (ORrhofmei- ster) to the head of the state budget, but only among the Franks. He was given the supreme command of the house troops, the antitrust, the royal bodyguard, the supreme supervision of the crown domains and soon became the m o s t respected and powerful of the court officials. He also became the prince's tutor, a kind of imperial administrator who ruled in the event of the king's minority or weakness in leadership. In doing so, he maneuvers between the king, whom he is already hardly inferior to in terms of de facto power, and the high aristocracy of his respective part of the realm, under whose influence he has come since 6oo, and as whose representative he ultimately confronts the king, sometimes representing the latter's interests, sometimes those of the former, above all the latter.

The Hausmeier played a decisive role in the battle to destroy Frcdegundc and Brunichild. And in the later y. century, when he was already called the "sub-king", the Prince of the Franks, when the imperial kingdoms had long since and definitively become sub-kingdoms, the household kings were already struggling for supremacy as the actual rulers. The Merovingian kings, on the other hand, became more and more extras, puppets on the throne. They rarely reached the age of three. In luxury and indulgence, they gathered on some country estate, each one the image of the -roi fainé-

ant, embodying the lazy king, of course, everyone still continues to be the legitimizer."

However, before we follow the rise of the Carolingians among the last twitches of this dynasty, a summarizing look at the Christian church, especially the high clergy of the time, will be instructive.

p. CHAPTER

THE CHURCH IN THE MEROVINGIAN PERIOD

-The Fraubcnrec of the Mcroutingcr . . , was a time of utter darkness and glory, full of the greatest tragedies on royal thrones and yet full of faith and holiness.- lt "tholik

gegriindet ...- P. dasko'

-... A period of the early church. A. Hauck'

-Over and over again, the naked Cewali-; -repeated spectacle of downright unqualifiable crime. Kstholik Daniel-Rops*

During the Merovingian period, Gaul was essentially Christian, and it became more and more Christian.

Certainly, its oldest, certainly Christian inscription only dates from the year 33d, from Lyon, but is now lost. Certainly, Gallic Christians were still a minority for a long time, even in cities where Christian emperors and their naturally also Christian staff resided.

Nevertheless, the spread of Christianity in Gaul had apparently already made rapid progress in the late 3rd century, with bishops apparently already in place in Toulouse.
Saturninus, Bishop Martianiis in Firles, St. Dio- nysius in Paris and St. Paul in Narbonne, where an old Christian cemetery is attested a few decades later. However, the bishops and those of Tours, Clermont and Limoges were by no means Roman emissaries. The alleged Roman mission is a forgery probably from the yth or 6th century, an attempt by the papacy to consolidate its authority. And of course the forgery was also intended to secure the apostolic origin of these Gallic bishoprics (cf. II €*q* ff.). The same motif is found in Spain.

4 century, however, Gaul was already teeming with bishoprics. In the Belgian-Germanic region, too, there are now more and more dioceses, in Orléans, Verdun, Amieris, Strasbourg, Speyer, Worms, Basel, Besan9on, Chalon-sur-Saone. Not to mention the older ones such as Trier, Metz and Cologne, all of which, like others such as Tongern and Mainz, falsely claimed to be the foundations of apostles' disciples. Around the turn of the 5th century, when Gaul b e c a m e the "focal point" of world history, aintiereii there, almost exclusively in cities, about

ii bishops. And towards the end of the 6th century, ii metropolitan federations with iz8 bishoprics covered the country; Arles has*4 bishoprics, Bordeaux *7. Bourges g, Lyon io, Narbon^* 7• Reims iz, Rouen p, Sens y, Tours 8, Trier q, Vienne 5.*

A KIND OF HOT CANCER

This period, in which German and European history breaks open like a cancer, in which Christianity infects the Ger- man world, in which the Frankish fidelshcrrschaft forms, since delt7 century, the typical medieval society of royalty, church and nobility emerged; this period was characterized by unbridled passions and bloody remorse like few eras.
cheizuvor, insidious, criminal to excess.

Court feuds, dynastic feuds, perpetual treachery, the unscrupulous elimination of princes and princely children (calculated average life span of the Merovingians:•4.5 Jithre), bestial
eradication campaigns that affected entire families were
just as commonplace as drunkenness and epidemics, hunger and robbery. The history of Gaul in the Merovingian period is a single chronicle of barbarism. Administration, trade and agriculture were all more or less in ruins, and crime was on top.

And yet there are historians who judge: -… everywhere not only a wildly moving political life, but a purposeful pushing forward of the various forces of the state; ... Rarely has a ruling dynasty produced talent upon talent in such uninterrupted succession as the Merovingian" {Schultze), First all around wars, through which a mighty {violent) empire was assembled, then, between 56i and 6x , almost pau- senless civil war, during which this empire fell again, and continued to grcuel even under the -rois fainéants-.'.

The Merovingians acted thepretically in accordance with the will of the people, but in practice they ruled since

Clovis already, absolutist. The people's assembly in the political sense disappeared, judicial sovereignty passed to the king, who gained more and more rec- fitc, especially in terms of criminal irresponsibility. Couldn't these rulers afford to do whatever they wanted? But he, undaunted as he was - **Gregory of** Tours describes a Merovingian king (and could have said the same of anyone) - mounted his horse, rode to them and pacified them with good words. Afterwards, however, he had many of them stoned to death."

At the same time, the Church significantly increased royal power. Saints were almost completely absent among these rulers. Only queens attained sainthood - there were many more: Chlotar t., for example, had five, Charibert I. four -reginae", as did Dagobert I., without, according to the somewhat euphemistic **Ewig, there being -in the strict sense- many wives. But the Church** demanded obedience to those who had received their power from God, and it added to the political kingship
-the religiously and morally understood royal dignity- {Tolksdorf) - "the bishops in particular assumed that the king's power was unlimited - {A. Hauck).*

Hardly ever was a time more anarchic in Europe than these early centuries of the Middle Ages. And yet the clergy did not think *to* really intervene, to forbid it. Prelates were **not** very keen **to** fdarry **ium.** And the church itself benefited from all the plundering and robbery. Century, increased immensely, not least at that time. As early as the 6th century, their wealth increased
-into the immeasurable- (Dopsch). "There was never an epochal revolt of spiritual power against certain practices of the state and war in the **Merovingian** period, simply because the Church did not **stand** in opposition to female power, but worked closely with it" (Bodmer). Yes, the Frankish bishops took part in the power struggles between kings and greats, -but with temporal and not with spiritual weapons- (Bund), even to the point of -de faCto usurpation ... state-military power-center- (prince).*

High clergy and high nobility are the driving forces behind this hullabaloo. In the midst of the empire, semi-independent rulers are forming and thus plunging it into permanent crises, into chaos, standing maĺ ant dicser, mat ant jencr side,

Like the power of the kings, that of the nobility was already in of the Merovingian period was based not only politically and economically, but also in a religiously conceived charisma that was recognized by those under his rule. This even led to a new aristocratic ideal of the saint, but also to a
-justification of the imperial order- (B h re

Eight Saxon kings renounced their crowns and entered a monastery. There have never been more saints, perhaps not counting the martyrdoms with their crowds of firigated blood witnesses. Only in the7- century were there eight hundred, yes, this -for
so crucial to the development of western merovingi
In the 19th century, "the vita of the saints found a more contemporary expression, and hagiography experienced an indisputable upswing. The saints were held in high esteem. They built large monasteries with pompous churches. Together with their biographies, they were clearly in favor of Merovingian kingship and nobility, as most of them came from the aristocracy themselves. One could almost get the impression,
-as if nobility were a preliminary stage of holiness", and speak of the self-sanctification of the Merovingian nobility (Prinx). This benefited the church just as much as the ruling caste. It consolidated its claim to political and charismatic dominance, which had been damaged by the apostasy from the old faith, with the means of the new faith; it gave this claim Christian legitimacy. At the same time, however, the epoch, especially7 J• hfhundert, is characterized by a "B1üte- der Hagiographie und Wun-
the strongest falsification of history",
quite consistently -the nadir of Western history- schrcibung- -all in all -the result of a barbarization after the ancient stream had dried up" scheibełrciter).

U wlSSEND, HIGHLY CRIMINAL AND G UT CATHOLIC

Certainly, we must not measure this Zen, a time more ignorant, more ignorant, more fraudulent and bloodier than most, with uncrew modern, oh-so-ethical mafia standards, must not anachronistically violate history. But surely we may, indeed must, m e a s u r e this time, this thoroughly Christian era, by Christian yardsticks? By certain biblical standards, such as the commandments of the Sermon on the Mount and the Decalogue? And don't we have to recognize it by its fruits?

Even the Catholic Daniel-Rops is awakened by the prevailing feeling of "horror", the ever-repeated spectacle of unqualifiable crimes. -Everywhere the nac1ce gcwaÎc reigns, in every eyeb1le it is ready to be unleashed. Nothing holds him back, neither family ties nor the commandments of the most elementary decency, not even the Christian faith. Did he not love all this as far as possible* Did he not give it the higher consecration, so to speak, the sanction! Did we not pray for the rulers, the generals, the butchers? Did they not pray before the wars, in them, after them? Didn't they themselves take part in the wars, didn't they rob, or didn't they give themselves gifts of war and plunder? Did we not feast o n t h e misery of the masses?

Still according to Daniel-Rops, even a series of sacred Kings deep in this horror. Yes, he must -make the even worse plague", because even the principles of law at that time, the basis of general morality, betrayed the good spirit. This barbarization of the Recite is in a sense even more disturbing than the criminal acts of individuals; it took Christian Europe longer to get rid of them. Christian Europe adopted many of these criminal practices, often intensified and approved them. For example, it retained the Roman legal practice of torture, as well as the Germanic practice of the trial of innocence, the judgment of God and the judicially imposed duel. Only from the

Although vehemently rejected by the clergy, all of these barbarities nevertheless made their way through again: -they were considered just if they were left a "\$'eihe by being prayed for. Bishops spoke o u t in favor of this."

But it was not just individual atrocious customs that were championed, no, the entire bloody system. They unreservedly sided with the villains and villains. And while the acts of violence of the kings became more and more unrestrained, the chain of blood revenge never abated, the murder of relatives was rampant, especially among the great, the Catholic son killed the Catholic father, the Catholic brother the Catholic brother, the Catholic uncle the Catholic nephew, while the plunder of the Merovingian kings, the slain enemies, Germanic princes, the loot of gold, jewels and weapons taken away from them was stored in the subterranean chambers, The episcopate sees these crowned Catholic criminals as the legitimate representatives of state power, the deputies of God on earth, the political situation is "unreservedly affirmed" (Vollmann) by all the bishops of Gaul.

For the Church, an ally of the Merovingian rulers from the very beginning, was able to develop as it had not for a long time. Its influence became ever greater, the world clergy and the religious clergy incredibly rich. And last but not least, the almost permanent catastrophe, the almost never-ending horror, the all-encompassing misery c o n s i d e r a b l y favored the emergence of donations. -Because they expected protection and help from them, people who were constantly threatened by looting, fires, murder and rape turned to the church and its saints (Bleiber). And of course the faithful paid the price. Especially as there were also terrible natural disasters, supposedly just acts of punishment by God. And the wars. They too, of course, were just acts of vengeance by the Lord. But war was an everyday occurrence, a source of income, an event with which the idea of rich spoils was automatically associated.

The church did not think to oppose it. Their wheat flourished. Only between the 47s and the beginning of the 6th century

The number of Gallic monasteries increased by fifteen. fn the first In the first half of the following aher, more itlöstcr is built here than anyone earlier or later. And with regard to the middle of the y. century, a modern researcher even speaks of an episcopal and monastic state {Sprandel). The episcopate, not only a major economic but also a major political power (Dopsch), played almost as decisive a role in the empire as the still thoroughly dominant kingship in the church. The two were closely intertwined. The ruler was also supposed to be devoted to the church, devotissimu8, and was considered a cleric, at least in the Carolingian period (Brunner).[2]

Diem gauze epoch, extremely cruel and unusually woman-dulent, was xuglcich very -pious". Attendance at Sunday mass was very popular - "with the ringing of the bells, crowds rushed to the churches" (blister). Almost as generally, people rushed to receive communion. Church singing was eagerly cultivated. Almost everyone took part in processions. The carol festivals were celebrated as great public festivals. People prayed at table and never drank a cup of water without making the sign of the cross over it. However, people not only prayed to God, they also continued to invoke all kinds of saints. Numerous churches were built, with marble pillars and marble walls, stained glass windows and many paintings; the rich had their own chapels. Kings consorted with saints, such as yzyf yzb Theuderich f. with the 61st Galíus in Cologne (who burned down a temple there - because none of the foolish pagans could be blicLed; afterwards the arsonist fled to the royal palace). Childebert 1. sought out St. Eusicius. Queens, Radegunde for example, washed the feet of bishops. They often preached in the vernacular. There were famous canonizers, such as the chief canons Caesarius of Arles, Germanus of Paris, Remigius of Reims. Merropolitan Niceties of Trier is said to have preached daily and even occasionally preached as -'Imperial Bishop- of the Empire of Reims, but was dogmatically quite ignorant.

A letter from him to]ustinian testifies to this almost embarrassingly, but this did not prevent Nicetius from portraying the theologian on the imperial throne (Il 36q ff.) as a primitive "heretic" and calling on him - from afar - to -tota ltalia, Integra Africa, Hispania vel Gallia coniuncta - curse his name. The most blatant belief in miracles was common. People hoarded relics from Rome, from Jerusalem, they made pilgrimages to the alleged apostles' fables in order to be healed.

In short, people were deeply convinced of the reality and power of the living God (Heinsius). There was "a fresh, cryptic belief in God and providence: one did not deal with the divine as an abstraction or an idea, but as a very real power. This conviction was generally prevalent: clergy and laity shared it without distinction.'- The first half of the century7. was considered to be a time of -a flowering period of the Frankish church" (Hauck), saw this -in the People of the Franks deeply rooted- {Schieffer) and bishops, bishops' synods -diligently at work- (Boudriot).'[3]

TWO REPORTS R r AESTSENTANTS

If you read Gregory of Tours' amorphous and detailed "Frankish History", our main source of this period, one marvels that the same mind, so grotesquely haunted by the belief in miracles and devils, which hardly seems to know a greater concern than any of its obscure miracles and signs - unquestionably facts for it, gesta praesentia" - not to mention, not to preserve for eternity, that the same head, also quite realistically, often almost amorally indifferent, refers to the abominations of the epoch, without any consciousness of decadence, hardened enough to admire even the most criminal heroes of the past. For as little as the bishop writes a history of the people, but rather a somewhat curious kind of hagiographic history of salvation, in which everything proceeds only according to God's advice, with his permission, under un-

the intervention of the saints, as little as the Frankish -The more the -people- play a role for him, the more he appreciates the new order of rule of the Franks, the social and military power of its Catholic leaders, at least those whose -strenuitas- and -virilitas- benefit the Church. He then knows not the slightest scruples, loya1itdtsconI)icts, stands unreservedly by the brutal policies of the princes, i.e. by their crimes, above all precisely insofar as they mean the advantage of the Catholic Church, i.e. halfway, rrorz above all, stable conditions We secure them and not least the constantly growing wealth of the high clCrus to which he himself belongs.

{It should be noted that this supposedly so grueling bi8chofsamt gave Gregory enough time to write all of his works)'*.

The fratricidal and civil wars did not quite fit the saint's concept, because they naturally affected him and his church. But external wars, wars for the expansion of the Christian kingdom, for the destruction of heretics, especially Arians (four times he repeats the lie of the Church Fathers about Arius being cremated in the privy), for the extermination of pagans and other unbelievers, cannot be waged enough. Thus he openly confesses at the beginning of the fifth book of his

-Frankish stories: -O may you, O kings, fight such battles as those in which your ancestors poured out their sweat, so that the nations, full of fear because of your unity, would have to bow before your power. Remember Chlodoverh, with whom your victories began, what he d i d : he killed the kings who were his opponents, defeated the enemy peoples, b r o u g h t the native peoples under his control and left you undivided and unweakened." Fighting battles, killing enemy kings, subjugating enemy p e o p l e s and subjugating your own is what a famous Catholic saint calls for - after more *than* half a century of Christianity. For the successes of the Franks are also successes Gregors- (Haendler).

Even when it comes to sex murder, Gregor sometimes acts like

a modern "progressive". Without flinching, he narrates the case of the horny Deoteria. While her husband is traveling to Béziers, she sends to King Theudebcrt: -No one can resist you, ten- first lord. We know you are our master. Kc'mm aleo and do what i s pleasing in your eyes." And Theudebert enters the fortress, makes Deoteria his bedmate, his wife, and Bishop Gregory calls the Catholic lady {who then begins to fear her own daughter as a rival and kills her in Verdun) -a capable and understanding woman-. As capable and understanding as Theudebert. For, praises Gregory, he ruled his kingdom with justice, honored the bishops, bestowed gifts on the churches, and "all the levies that were previously given to the royal treasury from the churches of Arvern, he remitted to them in mercy." So Gregory t u r n s a blind eye. The well-known Catholic double standard."

Another famous ecclesiastical prince, Gaius Collins Modestus Apollinaris Sidonius, the eloquent and thoughtless bishop of the -urbs Arverna", today's Clermont-Ferrand, who came from the Gallo-Roman aristocracy, even glorified the warrior spirit of the Franks, which was already alive in his children, while sitting in a luxury villa on his Aduaticum estate. Sidonius also wrote (for which he became Count of Auvergne and Prdfect of Rome with the title Patricius) praise songs, -phrase pomp- (Bardenhewer): q56 on his father-in-law Emperor Avitus,
after his fall 4i to his victorious rival Emperor Majo- ran, then to Emperor Anthemius. Finally, he glorified
the Visigoth king Eurich, whom he had previously fought for years - a typical representative of his opportunistic class."

POWER-HUNGRY S PEICHELLECKER OR -THEY ARE THE ACTING PERSONS ... -

Even if the prelatures had long been riB - the influx to the episcopate, then as now, usually had nothing to do with religion. Even theology - the problem of semipelagianism aside - was of little concern to the clerical masters. All the more so the economic and political side of the matter. The ecclesiastical ami was attractive to the leading families because of its influence. From the 9th century onwards, the bishops also took on public-law duties, they became -civitas lords- in late antiquity, whereby the increasingly frequent founding of monasteries in their cities increased their power even more {in the 6th century, the bishops were so important to the kings that they had to be founded by the kings. In the 6th century, such important monasteries as Arles-Saint-Pierre, Saint-Andochius in Autun, Saint-Marcel in Chalon- sur-Saône, Saint-Croix in Poitiers, Saint-Médard in Soissons, Saint-Germain-des-Prés in Paris, Saint-Germain in Auxerre, Saint-Pierre-le-Vif in Sens, the lngyrrudis monastery in Tours, etc., which were favored by the kings but not founded by them, increased their power.) The bishops had a largely independent position in the Merovingian Empire for a long time, which only changed in terms of personnel and constitution under Pippin the Middle and Charles Martel.

While in the 5th and early 6th centuries the established senatorial families seized the episcopal foundations, then, with the help of their rulers, the Romano-Germanic grandees increasingly made their move. For them, the office of bishop was

-the conclusion of a career ... in the royal service- (Ewig). Many were disgusting sycophants, adolatores - a term that even St. Gregory repeatedly used, not without adding -it pains me to have to say it about bishops-. ln the later Merovingian Empire, the greatest ecclesiastical intercessions arose. The money business, 5imony in all its forms, is rampant and corrupts the episcopate as far as it can still be corrupted. -All decrees, all prohibitions of the councils, which were supposed to remedy the evil, remained ineffective (Pontal). One forbids and - the double standard - takes care of oneself

not about that: through the centuries. One synod after the other was completely forgiven. Simonist bishops also signed the prohibition of simony without hesitation."

The high clergy also constantly carved out all kinds of powers for themselves. Exemption from military service, for example, which they always impose so relentlessly on others. Or exemption from taxes and customs duties, which of course everyone else should also pay. The bishops were, at least until the 5th century, exempt from the annual grain tax (annona) and the land tax for all church property, as well as from the muneia sordida (dirty work) and extraordi- naria (special services). They sought relief from other public duties and the acquisition of new rights, such as the right of asylum for their churches, which was so often abused.

They also acquired (ecclesiastical) jurisdiction, the privilegium fori. They increasingly extended their jurisdiction. They had almost unlimited jurisdiction over their clergy, in certain cases even over laymen, but could in principle only be condemned by an assembly of bishops. And judges who pronounced justice on clergymen without their authorization were excommunicated.

They were in control of the administration of church property. They collected the lion's share of the donations from the princes. Although half of the offerings went to the clergy, the prelates kept all of the much more important properties. They could also take back from a disobedient clergyman what they had personally given him. In general, the clergy needed the bishop's permission for every occasion."

However, he also dominated the monasteries. He decided on bequests to them, subordinated the abbots in matters of emennity and punishment and had almost complete power over the monks. Moreover, they often kept their vows of chastity as little as the priests. Many turned their backs on the monastery and married; they also had private property at their disposal. In general, one should never forget H. W. Cioetz's characterization: - Medieval monasticism was, in a sense, the gentleman's life in its reli-

gious character. This is one of the main reasons for its success ...- "... many monasteries gradually became purely aristocratic monasteries.

£löstern.-'-

The bishops' eiiiiii)u8 was all the greater, however, as the Roman imperial foundations of the 5th and 6th centuries left church property untouched. Indeed, this grew even more through extensive donations from the kings in the 6th and 7th centuries as well as many other transfers of property {each with a large number of assigned dependent workers), grew by Purchase and testamentary dispositions by private owners. In this way, the church quickly became "the largest landowner after the king" (5th/Bartmuss). And since, on the other hand, the Gallo-Roman senatorial nobility could no longer rise to the top in the Germanic civil service, for them "the episcopate meant the only opportunity to perform leadership tasks (also of a political nature) ... The senatorial upper class made active use of this opportunity" (Vollmann). The bishops are in the foreground in Gregory's "Franconian Histories", "they are the acting persons" (Dopsch), are political functionaries, without -a certain inner attitude- (Scheibelreiter). And apparently one only became a bishop if one had paid for it. So writes Pope Gregory 1: -As some have reported to me, no one in Gaul or Germania could sur ordination without having paid something for it.-'°

THRONE AND A LTAR

It is true that the power and ever-growing empire of the church caused certain tensions and disputes. But the monarchy and episcopate saw themselves as dependent on each other and worked together. The hierarchical structure of the Frankish imperial church supported the political system, which in turn **favored** it - the old do-or-die business. There was "a close intertwining of state and churches (Aubin). The

The most powerful families of the Merovingian pond, the Waldebert clan, the Burgundian Fórones, Etichones, Chrodoines, Arnulfiiigers, Pippi nids, secured their long-standing privileges anew by means of Christianity, indeed, the saints from their ranks, the "house saints". The Merovingian high nobility's own monasteries and the cult of relics and miracles that was zealously practiced there were also highly earthly means of power, new, more subtle forms of suppressing and enforcing the c l a i m to leadership, and were -political-hereditary bases-- {Prince) in a much more comprehensive sense than previously assumed.

While all kinds of cruelty, violence against the weak* defenseless,

The bishops behaved in a state-friendly, pro-king manner, even towards the most brutal natures. On the other hand, the kings, often the worst despots, pursued a decidedly pro-church policy, actively supported missionaries and monasteries, subjected themselves (and their officials) in principle to the moral standards of the highly esteemed episcopalians, whose remuneration (atonement money for manslaughter) was then also paid to the bishops.

- according to Salic law was three times that of a royal official and nine times that of a free man.

Naturally, these princes also recognized the ecclesiastical authority of the pope, who, however, could hardly enforce decisions against their will. The Merovingians often had clergymen in their court administration. They awarded the episcopal chairs as sinecures to deserving combatants. They also gave the prelates personal gifts, showering some of them with possessions and privileges, but treated almost all of them with great respect.

Quite a few of them were directly involved in state affairs, such as Gregory of Tours, who was highly respected under Childeberr II (from J8y) and who, of course, also went in and out of other ruling houses and in whose family the office of bishop was almost hereditary. His great-grandfather on his mother's side, Gregorius of Lan- gres, after whom he was named, had already been a bishop; his uncle on his father's side was Bishop Gallus of Clermont; his great-grandfather was a bishop.

his maternal uncle, Bishop Nicetius of Lyon; his ancestor and predecessor, Bishop Euphronius of Tours; indeed, Gregory himself reports that all but five of the bishops of Tours were related to his lineage, which he not only repeatedly calls a senatorial lineage, but also the first, with the modesty and humility typical of his circles.

Others interfered in politics, albeit rarely as totally as in neighboring Spain, quite independently. Some even achieved the -fvtdrtyrerkrone-. However, the two greatest -bloodshed- of the Frankish church of this time, Praetextatus and Desiderius, did not shed their blood through pagans or heretics, but "mainly through the fault of two other bishops, members of the same churches (back). '[2]

In Merovingian Gaul, with over a hundred bishoprics, there were two to three thousand chief shepherds. The names of about a thousand of them are known. The vast majority of them belonged to the nobility of the country (III, TOD). VOfl*7 episcopal tombs writings of the q., y. and 6th centuries in Gaul show -4 the The only epitaph is from the 4th century, that of Bishop Concordius of Arles, hardly allows its social classification.

Almost all of them came from the nobility, often the most noble families. They owned large estates with thermal baths, luxurious dining halls and libraries. However, they not only made every effort, but also engaged in all kinds of power politics - and were still revered as saints by their contemporaries" (ßorsr). They were legally, economically and socially elevated, and sometimes also acted as temporal potentates, running their own urban dominions, entire principalities¡ in northern Aquitaine: Poiriers, Bourges, Clermont; in Burgundy: Orléans, Chalons, Fuxeire, etc. The more powerful bishops had particularly large landholdings, a straight feudal position. Some even maintained personal relations with the emperor in Byzantium. Merovingian kings liked to make them godparents to princes, and they were protected and ruled. They not only recognized their authority, but also

supported them, benevolently condoning wars and atrocities. For most of them, kings counted for more than ecclesiastical regulations, which they disregarded in the event of conflict. And, of course, the kings provided reliable, obedient hierarchs. None of the prelates assembled at the Synod of Orlcans (5i i) disagreed with the ruler's demand to make entry into the clergy dependent on royal permission."

This led to the formation of a national church led by the king. The ruler had synodal sovereignty¡ he c a l l e d synods, took part in them, and at least Clovis even set their agenda. And they were not exactly rare. Between the Synod of Agde (yo6) and that of Auxerre (6q5), more than fifty church assemblies met in Gaul. The

y. Council of Orléans4 q expressly authorizes interference of the kings also in matters of the episcopate' especially in the election. On the day of the Council of Paris, z8. October 6iq (öi y}, Chlotar II, sole rcgent in the empire since 613, confirms the decrees of the Council Fathers and adds canon i:

-The canonically ordained bishop requires confirmation of the king - - which at least for a time ensured a simony-free appointment of bishops, something the Church was not capable of doing on its own."

The prelates were often appointed according to wealth and origin, according to their {worldly) leadership qualities. And as early as Clovis, the Merovingians intervened in the election, either directly, as with the appointment of the bishops of Sens, Paris and Auxcrre. Or directly. Thus, on King Clovis' orders, the bishop's son Ommatius became bishop of Tours. Soon afterwards, Queen Chrodichilde also brought Theodorus and Proculus to the coveted see. In Clermont, a royal heir first made St. Gallus, St. Gregory's uncle, and then Cautinus, who was guilty of all crimes, chief shepherd, whereupon the clergy split into two parties and priest Cato became the antipope. King Chlotar I appointed Domnolus, the abbot of Saint-Laurent in Paris, as episcopus of Le Mans, and he became the same,

raves Gregory, -lifted to the summit of the highest holiness-, gave "a lame man the strength to walk, a blind man his sight again. (He was unable to heal himself, however, and died of jaundice and severe stone pain)."

The bishop's candidates often think nothing of making an effort to reach their goal, and no lack of character. They iiitrigated the kings. They influenced the clergy, the people. They bought, they extorted votes. They therefore occasionally forged documents. They acquired the episcopal dignity for sale. It became common practice to make a career in the church by buying and bribing. Even the councils complained about this, but they were powerless - as bishops, they quickly returned all *their* investments.

-... EHER NiATERlELLE INTERESTS Dzo Ki "cxe Dxs Mx eOwINGERRElCHES ?

The clergy's clumsy, yet very profitable insistence that the rich should secure a place in heaven through the 5chutx of the saints drove kings and other wealthy people to make gifts and bequests. While some became richer and richer, others became impoverished, not only the crown suffered losses through huge land renunciations, but also parts of the nobility, who often spent considerably, especially as all kinds of immunity privileges were added. In short:

-The Merovingian documents reveal the great change in land ownership in favor of the church" (Sprandel).

Bertram, for example, Bishop of Le Mans since 586, h a d , as his will shows yo years later, land in Paris, from where he came, in Le Mans, the immediate and wider surroundings of his episcopal see, but also in Aquitaine and Burgundy: fields, meadows, forests, wine-growing areas, numerous villages, in addition to royal and private donations.

had also bought many estates for considerable sums of money and had thus always left 35 estates to his BİSttl^ and had also bequeathed four estates (villae) to natural relatives. The Mero

Like the first Carolingian kings, the Vingings "spared the church property as much as possible". However, the kings, who made rich donations to the churches at that time, were hardly ever entertained by the churches even when they traveled. They practiced

-almost exclusively from their own property- (Brühl).

The hierarchs, however, never received more or larger donations. The church only ever received money, no one approached it with demands for payment, and it was never forced, like the kings, to divide its property among a host of heirs ... -- (Lasko). But once they had something, they defended it by all means."

Few things played a greater role in the decrees of the Merovingian Council than the protection of church property, which was repeatedly declared inalienable. Anyone who withholds them or obtains them unlawfully is liable to excommunication, anyone who confiscates them is banned from the Church for life. All donations in favor of the church are irrevocable. No one may use the right of limitation to their disadvantage, but they may use it to their advantage. Indeed, it takes action against legitimate heirs who do not wish to be deprived of their inheritance. In short, the church guarded nothing so jealously as its ever-increasing landed property and other wealth."

DNS 4 Council of OrléAnS ts4-) declares gifts, agreed in writing or by a handshake, to be sacred and irrevocable.

are intended for the church or its members. There is no right to church property even after a long period of alienation.

The statute of limitations. The Council of Tours(ï 71 threatens anyone who steals or damages church property without restitution during a civil war with excommunication, the excommunication of the church and death.

The Council of Macon (ş8x or ş83) excommunicates a non-ne Agnes who sells land to grandees in order to obtain their protection. And these grandees are also excommunicated. Blue-eyed Odetre Pontal writes: -This conspicuous concern for

"The protection of ecclesiastical property could suggest the conclusion against rather material interests of the Church of the Merovingian Empire - w h i l e the latter thus only secured itself against the wolfish world!"

And in addition to the ever-growing church land - an enormous source of income and, to reiterate, an invaluable one - there were other financial benefits; sacrificial donations, for example, the levying of fees, the tithe, which was invented in the 6th century as a kind of alms. It was invented in the 6th century as a kind of alms, until in the late 6th century it was transformed from a moral obligation into a legal one with corresponding sanctions against transgressors. Anyone who refused it was excommunicated. A scribe, shortly after the end of the Council of Tours (J7) *• rfafit And by the metropolitan there
litan and signed by three of its bishops, calls on
The Council of Måcon also requires the faithful to pay tithes not only of goods but also of slaves; this is the first time the tithe is mentioned in a Merovingian text. However, the Council of Måcon threatens excommunication to anyone who violates the correct use of tithes. And779 Wİrd with Karl
-the Great- daraiis a mandatory tax!

Incidentally, donations of goods did not go to the church as a whole, but to certain institutions, dioceses and abbeys. And, of course, the land donations to the monasteries were also organized as slave farms (Angenendr). Towards the end of the Carolingian period, the monastery of St. Gall alone had almost zooo tenant farmers. The bishop shared donations to the cathedral with his priests: he only received a third of the donations to the parish churches, but he received vineyards or land in full, as well as all the shavings."

It has been assumed that there were more slaves in the Burgundian Empire than in the4 century. The Burgundians, for example, probably only acquired a large number of slaves long a f t e r Chri-
The Roman Empire had become the most powerful, above all due to the military campaigns to Italy, the cession of Roman property and the punitive enslavement in domestic service and agriculture. Although

the church used to care for the slaves in certain respects. For their Sunday rest, for example, which had pastoral reasons, i.e. (also) selfish ones. Or by offering a slave asylum, which of course he had to leave again if his master merely assured him that he would neither kill nor mistreat him, by force if necessary. She also no longer protected him if he refused satisfaction or f)oh. And Christian slaves of a Jew could be kept by the bishop himself¡ he only had to return them if the Jew gave a corresponding guarantee.

A church that held heaps of slaves itself - a fundamental element of its property - did not shake the master's right of ownership either (Orlandis/Ramos-Lisson). Their vast domains could only be managed with huge numbers of slaves. And a slave, at least in the Carolingian period, was usually born a slave. Legally, he was no more than a chattel; he could be sold, even sold separately from his wife. A slave was not even freed by being consecrated as a priest. Not even through marriage. And every slave child remained a slave, even if only one parent was enslaved. There was also new bondage, new bondage: forgery, betrayal, kidnapping or adultery. Yes, the so-called obnoxiatio made it possible to enslave a poor person for the sake of God, that is, of course, for the benefit of the church to which he then belonged. (e For God's sake!" - never means anything good!) But if she herself had freed and ransomed slaves, they became subject to tribute. The bishop's own slaves were still allowed to remain in church service if he set them free. Or he had to give so much of his private property to the church that this donation compensated several times over for the loss caused by the manumission.

However, the council considered it unjust that the monks did the daily field work while the slaves indulged in laziness."

The historian Bosl once commendably reminds us of this. all of them, -that the history of the lower classes and the

Unfreedom or serfdom for over q8So of our people is their own history and that of their family, since -almost qp9" all Germans and Europeans today are descended from serfs."

The oft-quoted words of Chilperich I, quoted by Gregory I, illustrate the situation in an exaggerated but drastic way: -sh, our treasure has become poor, see, our wealth has fallen to the church (ecce divitiae nostrae ad ecclesias sunt translatae). The bishops alone now reign; our power is gone." It is striking that the king, as Gregory goes on to say, repeatedly destroyed wills in favor of the Church, that he was allowed to mock the bishops of the Lord inaudibly, and that he preferred to mock nothing in a small circle. It is also understandable that Bishop Gregory calls the king -Nero nostri temporis et Herodis- (but neither Nero nor even Herod were the abominations that the Church made them out to be!) It's not surprising that Gregory calls the king a drunkard and writes that his "god was the belly". But this very gentleman, so torn down by our saint, not only published various writings, not only tried, as an admirer of Roman culture, to add new letters to the Latin alphabet, but also had a predilection for theological questions."

The majority of the clergy at that time (and not only at that time) certainly didn't have that. Nor were they interested in other scholars or intellectual problems. Science, explains Bishop Gregory right at the beginning of his "Frankish History", had "fallen into decay" in Gaul, and had "gone under" here. A letter from Pope Agnrho and his synods to the Emperor of Byzantium in 68o does not see any bishop at the height of female scholarship. Rather, they were living under forced conditions and the former church assets had disappeared. A few decades earlier in Gaul, the monk Jonas of Bo6bio found the power of religion almost destroyed, not only by external enemies of the church, but also by the laxity of the bishops."

–… A Tlzrxs NivEAU",
"… A BARBARIC LEVEL

This is the verdict of two modern scholars - Karl Baus and Josef Flek- kenstein - on the Catholic clergy and the Catholic Church of the Merovingian period. For the average bishop was no better than the nobility. And it was precisely from the episcopate that violence and corruption spread throughout the entire clergy. A barbaric level prevailed in this church" (Fleckenstein).'*

The bishops, who have long since ceased to come from the midst of the community.

The last of them, Chlotar 11. i5 4 -) came from the circles of the court nobility, suppressed their choice with the

the people together. They s o m e t i m e s ruled as true despots in their circle. They fornicated and drank hardly less than the laymen. They told each other about their perjuries and adulteries at the royal table - Bishop Bertram of Bordeaux was even suspected of having sex with Queen Frodegunde. They often appointed their successors themselves. Sources repeatedly report such arrangements and agreements. They were happy to bequeath the bishoprics to their nephews. Entire dioceses passed from bishop fathers to bishop sons under Charles Martel: Trier from Liutwin to his son Mi1o¡ Mainz from Gerold to his son Gewilib; Liège from Hubert, later even venerated as a saint, to his son Floribert. Others acquired the bishoprics by forging documents or in exchange for money, such as Bishop Eusebius of Paris, a Syrian merchant, who thus outdid the brother of his predecessor, Bishop Ragncmond of Paris. And after the death of Cautinus at Avern (Clermont), writes Gregory of Tours, many made great efforts to obtain the bishopric by spending a lot of money and promising even more. At court, too, some worked with bribery, such as Bishop Aegidius of Reims. Party fights and acts of violence were common during elections. Indeed, it sometimes happened that a city had two bishops at the same time. In Digne, for example, Bishop Agapius and Bishop Bobo shared the church property before a synod deposed them both.

The same happened in monasteries, which, moreover, had been important urban bases of episcopal rule since the 6th century. In the late* 7th century, when there were well over four hundred monasteries in the entire empire, they and the churches owned a third of Gaul! But

Bishops and abbots also left their posts and returned to the -worldly life. Others remained and lived as clerics or monks like laymen. Still others had to leave their fellow bishops, such as Bishop Theodore of Chur, who sought refuge with Bishop Syagrius of Autun due to differences with his Milanese metropolitan."

Not infrequently, however, the prelates were also in a kind of permanent war with their own priests, with many a bishop and his archdeacon fighting each other to the death. For the most trivial of reasons, the chief shepherds often fought beyond all measure and so frequently that it was almost regarded as a law of nature that every bishop was a born enemy and persecutor of his clergy (Rückert).

The priests therefore plotted and schemed against their superiors. They openly opposed their superiors and repeatedly formed guilds, conspiracies, confederations and even enlisted the help of the laity.

It happened that a single clergyman or a whole group of people attacked a bishop in his house, locked him up and drove him out. There were assassination attempts and murders, as well as riots in monasteries. In Rebais, Abbot Filibert left his monastery. In Der, Abbot Berchar was killed by a monk. Bishop Aprunculus of Langres was only able to escape assassination by fleeing over the city wall at night. Bishop Waracharius was poisoned by his clerics,

In Lisieux, the archdeacon and a priest conspired against Bishop Aetherius, but the assassination plot failed, as did a smear campaign in which they tried to defame him.

Led by the clergyman Proculus and the abbot Ana-

stasius and the governor of Ptovence, Cierus of Marseille attacked the local bishop Theodorus. He was mocked and mistreated. The priests repeatedly broke into all the church buildings, plundered the vestry and carried off some of the church treasures. But whatever evil happened to the prelate, even at the hands of the king, the vengeance of God, who is always ready to snatch his servants from the jaws of predatory dogs, did not fail to materialize. Or as Bishop Gregory wrote after another scandalous case: -For God avenges his servants who hepe against him.

Revenge, the favorite child of the re!igion of love.

Archbishop Praetextatus of Rouen was stabbed by a slave of Fredegunde during mass at the high altar of his cathedral church on Easter Sunday in 1986. None of the many clergymen around him came to his aid. As a pious prayer warrior, the queen herself feasted at the sight of the dying man. She had paid ioo gold florins for this; another 5o were paid by Bishop Mclantius and the same amount by the archdeacon of Rouen - no longer a singular event. Later, Fredegunde's murderer was handed over and murdered by the archbishop's nephew, while Fredegunde remained unpunished: "They hanged the clins . . ."

Again and again, there were disputes between the clergy and Nobility.

The servants of Bishop Priscus of Lyon and Duke Leudegisel fought bloody battles. In Javols, the comites raged against the clergy and Bishop Parthenius, who was also accused by Count Palladius of "abominable fornication" with his lovers. Syagrius, son of Bishop Desideratus of Verdun, attacked his opponent Sirivald in his bedchamber and killed him. In Angouléme, a conflict broke out between the local bishop Heraclius and Count Nanthin. As the nephew of the murdered Bishop Marachar of Angoulême, Nanthin laid claim to church assets, killing several laymen and a priest and plundering and destroying houses. The abbot Germanus

of the monastery of Mün tergranfclden, ElsaB, fief inn spàten y.]ahrhun- dert gcgen the soldiers of Duke Eticho {father of St. Odilia) and even became a saint."

Attacks on clerics were already frequent at that time, not least because their (usually carried) kosibare vestments were worn by church guards. And often "missionary monks" were beaten to death by the criminal justice of the ban- rishers or gamekeepers when clearing monastery land - more so than during evangelization.

The asylum law was also continued to be observed, and murder was still carried out in the kitchens, as it was particularly suitable for armed stalking of princes ready for slaughter. Alła King Gunt- ram should have been liquidated three times while going to church. And of course they also fought in the "houses of God", like two related families, highly respected by ChllpØFİCh, who slew each other - right up to the AÍtar. - Many were wounded with the sword, the holy church was spattered with blood, the doors were pierced with spears and swords" (Gregory of Tours).

The election of bishops did not go as smoothly as one in Rome. In Clermont-Fernand and Uzès, people helped out with bribes. In Rhodez, all the "sacred objects" disappeared from the church and most of their property for a glorious reason. In Langrcs, during the occupation of the bishopric, St. Gregory's brother, the deacon Peter, was stabbed to death in the street because, as Bishop Felix of Nantes claimed, Peter had been eager to kill his bishop."

Although the councils regularly condemned the carrying of weapons by the clergy, this was not practiced. They went hunting and into battle with them - somewhat like their Lord Jesus. Sic killed people with their own hands, such as the bishops Sa- lonius and Sagittarius. Around 7>OmñFSChierre, Bishop Savaricus of Auxerre went to Lyon in a highly belligerent manner to conquer Burgundy for himself, but allegedly fell by a "lightning bolt" from heaven. Clergymen also repeatedly allowed themselves to be used as assassins to defeat King Childebert or Brunichild. Aetherius, Bi

The first of these was to b e killed with an axe by a priest at the instigation of his archdeacon."

Gregory is silent about the murderer or murderers of one of his predecessors. Bishop Francilio of Tours, a prelate of senatorial descent, of heavy weight, married but childless, died on the spot through a poisoned drink that he had taken yzq - just as the sacred Nativity of the Lord was dawning for the people (only for the people*). Bishop Marachar of An- gouléme also died by poison, administered in a fish head, at the instigation of his successor, Bishop Fronto-nius. Several priests from the local church were also involved. And just one year later, Frontonius - the judgment of God - (Grejjor of Tours) *'

In March 630, the bishop Rustik us of Cahors was killed by diocesans, but we do not hear of the church writing to the murderers. The killing of Bishop Theodard of Maastricht, probably7* *• 6yk, by church robbers also went unpunished. Bcgleiter in a forest near Speyer. Theodard's

His successor, Bishop Lambert of Maastricht, ended, probably7 J, by murder, after he himself had two of his opponents, the brothers Gallus and Riold, slain. Bishop Gaudinus of Soissons, who was publicly inspected by citizens for his wu- cher, was u> 7Oy thrown into a cistern in the village of Herlinum, where he suffocated. After the elimination of Bishop Herchenefreda, King Dagobert I had the guilty parties executed.

partly banish, enslave, enslave or kill.'^

Let us review a few other representatives of this clergy, which even according to the Catholic Handbook of Church History "had sunk to a low level everywhere, especially in France". Well, we already found it there in antiquity (III, chapter 5). 5later, of course, it sank further ...^

LITTLE RßVUE OF THE MEN OF GOD R

Bishop Chramlin of Embrun had obtained his bishopric through a forged document. Bishop Agilbert of Paris and Bishop Reolus of Rheims swore their oaths on empty relic capsules to deceive the Austrian Duke Martin, whereupon the latter, giving deo I'räJarcn GJ-uben, was killed along with all his followers. The bishop of Rien, Contumeliosus, was accused by the Council of Marseille {5 3) -multa turpia et inhonesta-: Apparently adultery, so-called immorality, also the appropriation of stolen church goods, which he added to his private property.

Bishop Badcgisel of Lu Mans (y8 r- 86) also swindled and robbed himself of a fortune, even from his own siblings. He was just as adept at litigation as he was with the sword, but also shepherded his own sheep with an iron hand. Of course he had a wife, of course she was - even worse, she "drove him to outrageous deeds with the most despicable advice". Magnatrude, the noble bishop's wife, took pleasure in cutting off men's penises with the skin of their stomachs and scorching women's private parts with red-hot irons. "She did many other abominable things, but it is better to keep silent about them," says Gregory.

Drunkenness, as the chronicler testifies, was rampant in the Klerus no less than among the laity. St. Gildas, the first historian of the Britons, also points this out. Likewise St. Boniface, who once accused Archbishop Cudberht of Canterbury that the vice of drunkenness had become all too common in your districts. Boniface writes of some bishops that they not only get drunk themselves, but also force others to get d r u n k by offering them larger drinking vessels.

The bishops Salonius and Sagittarius were still drinking and drinking through the night when the clergy were already reading early mass in the church. Bishop Eonius of Vannes once celebrated something similar in Paris, always a mass

worth, but so full of stars that he had to be carried from the altar to the ground, screaming and snorting. He was so badly hurt that he could not take a step. Gunrher of Tours, a former abbot, became "almost insane" as a bishop due to alcoholism. Droctigisiĺ of Soisson was so chaste that he literally drank himself to death. Deacon Theudulf, a friend of Bishop Audovech of Langrcs, died in a drunken stupor.

Cautions, Archbishop of Clermont, who was always deprived of his property, even by naked violence, got drunk every day and was usually dragged from his drunken orgies by four men. He read neither secular nor ecclesiastical books, probably did not understand them at all, but, much to his resentment, he kept company with Jews and was deeply involved in usurious transactions. He deposited one of his clerics, whose money he borrowed, in a tomb next to an already rotting corpse in order to make him compliant. Cautinus finally succumbed - -on the day of our Lord's passion"
- the very plague from which he was constantly on the run. A little later, under Carlo Martell, Bishop Milo of Trier was one of the drunkards."

The brothers Salonius of Embrun and Sagittarius of Gap.

Both once virtuous pupils of St. Nicctius of Lyon. Nicctius of Lyon, himself a great-uncle of St. Gregory, nephew and successor of St. Sacerdotus. All holy all around! And the noble prelates raged like madmen with robbery, bloodshed, murder, adultery and other crimes (Gregory of Tours). But it was only when they attacked, robbed and stole from his colleague Victor of Trois-Châteaux in the Dauphinč, just during his birthday banquet, that a synod of Lyon (Jöy/yyo) declared him completely guilty. However, King Guntram, the saint, approved their appointment to Rome - the only known case of such an appointment from Merovingian Gaul in the entire 6th century. And the Holy Father John 111 restored them to their offices and dignities and the protection of Guntram. They continued to beat their diocesans - with billets up to the

Blood- and experienced the people with their own hands in open field battles, until their interference in the pious king's intimate life put them behind monastery walls (far away from each other), but also out again. Once again they ascended their bishop's chairs in order to

{after some fasting, praying, psalm-singing} ntir the more madly to drive with tail and sword. However, she still did not want to be deposed by a spiritual court. But the king, suspecting her of treason, brought her back to the monastery - and her escape finally brought the robbers to justice.*'

Throughout the Middle Ages, a monastery was often not a place of peace or of being buried alive (although this too, in the worst sense). Historians who are still friendly to the church call the discord there -a general phenomenon-, even in the F'auenk1östern. Many Chrisrus brides beat others, beat lay sisters, lay brothers, clerics - were also freely beaten by them. And people of both sexes rarely lived a very ascetic life. Least of all, perhaps, were the nuns who fathered Christian Catholic kings with their concubines to increase the kingdom of God."

REBEL LION IN THE NUNNERY

n Sainte-Croix at Poitiers, in the monastery of St. Radegunde, that most tender, finest saint of her time (p. qi), Anno

P 9 59 - "Seduced by the devil", as ten bishops are known in writing, two princesses. Chrodechilde, the daughter of King Charibert, and Basina, the daughter of King Chilperich (and the Audovcra), rebelled against the abbess Leubovera. With about4• • nderen, puellae presumably mostly of noble standing and probably less likely to have entered the monastery than to have been put into it.

they jumped your holy house, and a hard spiritual remnant, so to speak, entrenched themselves outside Poitiers in the church of Saint-Hilaire, together with all sorts of cavaliers: Thieves were accused-

poisoners, murderers. The town was terrorized for weeks, the convent was stormed and ransacked, and the sisters who had remained behind were still being threatened in the prayer rooms. At the tomb of St. Radegunde, in the cathedral church, on the streets: blood is said to have flowed daily. Even when several prelates, the metropolitan Gun- dcgisel of Bordeaux and his suffragans, all clerics, ventured into the church of St. Hilarius, the house of the Great Liberty, to investigate the dispute on the king's orders, the mob "fell upon them with such violence and beat the bishops to the ground that they could hardly rise again; the deacons and other clergy also ran out of the churches spattered with blood and with their heads smashed. The abbess Leu- bovera, however, was attacked in the monastery, dragged through the alleys by an ark with (of course -real-) cross particles, to which she clung, and kept in the church of St. Hilarius.

No wonder (or rather one thing) that in this year, as St. Gtegor tells us, so many signs happened (actually, of course, like almost every year), tremendous rain, hailstorms never passed, the rivers swelled over the rivers, and trees blossomed in the fall. -In November one saw roses …- signs upon signs, oh, the degeneration of the world. Only by force, with renewed bloodshed, could the Comes Macco, the Count of Poitiers, finally subdue the rebels. Some were scourged, their hair and hands were cut off, some even had their ears and noses cut off - "and peace returned" {Gregor). However, the Council of Metz (59o) sent the two princesses back to Poitiers and, at the intervention of King Childebert II, lifted their excommunication, which had only been pronounced in the same year. Basina was returned to the monastery of the Holy Sepulchre, while the irreconcilable, headstrong Chrodechilde was given a "villa in {or near) the city, a gift from King Childe- beri.

This was not the way to deal with recalcitrant nuns. In monasteries in particular, draconian punishments were often meted out for ridiculous offenses. But bishops were (and still are) in all

Usually a cowardly bunch. In the words of Georg Schei- belreiter (more elegantly), they cut -kcine good figure-. And so, despite their -maiora crimi- ria-, the devotees from the royal house got off remarkably lightly. Indeed, we hear of no punishment or even penalties. This is all the more strange, as the non-nauhtand of Poitiers was a bloody story, but the abbess's investigation seems partly groundless, partly rather minor - -causae 1eviores-; if one disregards, for example, the fact that men used the nuns' baths and occasionally feasted (which, however, were not feasts at all, since only -consecrated bread- was eaten and, moreover, by "Christian-minded, devout persons"), and that several nuns became pregnant, but only as a result of the -turmoil-. Or that the abbess's niece lived in the convent without being a nun."

Are you surprised? The Rule of St. Caesarius, Bishop of Arles and founder of a women's monastery, designed t o make girls as young as six years old into "holy virgins, consecrated to God". And the Rule of St. Benedict ensured that boys of the same age were buried behind monastery walls forever in order to provide for the next generation of monks.

Everything was suppressed and sucked dry by the rulers. But it was probably the]uds who were most despised, especially by the Christian clergy, who, with their characteristic deiriut, made the difference in rank between Christians, clergy and laity, the subject of councils. Macon (y8J), for example, disregards the constant precedence of the priest over the layman, who not only had to greet him, but also dismount from his horse when the latter went to Fufi.

And now even the Jews!

^ . . aNd aCCeSS to marKet OR
Ou E JUDE REMAINS THE CHRI ST HEALTHY

The Christian hostility towards Jews stems from the New Testament, especially from St. Paul and the so-called Gospel of John. And most of the most prominent early church fathers and -Teachers then carried this enmity further and often exacerbated it enormously {1 z. Chapter, 1 438 ff., yiT ff., II ¢8 f . >7* -. 3qr ff. and others),

Following in the footsteps of many Catholic predecessors, the ecclesiastical teacher St. Isidore of Sevitla also hurled out a pamphlet - "Contra Judaeos". And St. Julian, Archbishop of Toledo, himself of Jewish descent, also wrote an anti-Jewish ecclesiastical opus in 68. Just as the iz, Council of Toledo {6&i) decreed no less than z8 anti-Jewish laws, the r6. Council (6q3) they
and above all harmed the Jews economically. The•7- Council of Toledo (6qJ), however, declares all Jews to be slaves because of state-feudal urges and insulting the cross of Christ; their property is confiscated and their children are given to them.
from the seventh year onwards.

The Church in the Merovingian Empire forbade any connection between its followers and the Jews, who were mainly located in the Gallic trading towns. Catholics were not allowed to marry Jews or even eat with them. No Jew was allowed to sit in the presence of a priest without his permission. Jews who tried to convert Christian slaves were threatened with severe punishments, and their release was even declared invalid if they converted. And since the Council of Macon (58z or y83), Jews were no longer considered Christian slaves at all.[1]

I n t h e 6th century, the councils in the Merovingian Empire banned Jews from all public offices, including military ones. In7 centuries, they could remain civil servants if they crawled to the cross, i.e. allowed themselves to be baptized. Ergo: only religious reasons, or what you call it, were enough."

The Catholica's constant hostility towards the Jews naturally
Fruit.

For example, St. Avitus of Vienne (p. 58,
3 ff.), still in the zo. He was praised in the "Lexikon für Theologic und Kirchen" as a "pillar of the Church in the Burgundian Empire",
not only "tirelessly working on the eradication of Haresia", but also, which of course is not mentioned there, on the eradication of Judaism. For
-Very often," reports St. Gregory of Tours, Avi-tus exhorted the wicked Jews to convert. And once, just as the bishop w a s marching in procession - on the holy day when the Lord gloriously ascended to heaven after the redemption of mankind - the whole crowd of those following him suddenly pounced on the Jewish school and destroyed it from the ground up, so that its site was razed to the ground.

An act of terrorism? Oh no. The very next day, the extremely tolerant saint sent a message to the Jews: -I will not use force to compel you to confess the Son of God.- No, he,
-He is the shepherd of the Lord's sheep and, like him, he must also bring those other sheep that are not of his fold, so that they may become one shepherd and one flock. Therefore, if you want to believe like me" - that's what their whole unfortunate story is about: everything should believe like them or go to the devil! -then you shall be one flock and I your shepherd, but if not, then leave this place.i' Truly a clear, a great, a thoroughly Christian-Catholic message. And so some wanted to believe and be converted in this -mild- way. But the others, - who had spurned baptism, left the city and went to Marseille.

So simple - and went to Marseille ... What is only told in the early Gregory - because our God never tires of transfiguring his priests …"

St. Gregory is also - of course! - anti-Jewish orientation, which often comes through in him, for example when he describes the -wrath-, the
"Wickedness- of the Jews branömarkt, their "sense, which has gcweiden hacce at the blood of the prophetcn-, the ersr rechc dsnach gierce, -un- just the righteous" to töccn. Even St. Martin, who

miracle after miracle, a Jewish doctor is called in, as in the case of Leunast, Archdeacon of Boutges, who was blind, then miraculously regained his sight and finally became miraculously blind again. -Because he would have remained healthy if he h a d called for God's miracle, nor for the Jews."[S] - The pious King Guntrain, who scolds the Jews -badly and faithfully- and is "always malicious of heart", who refuses t o have the synagogue recently destroyed by Christians rebuilt, has Bishop Gregory's full applause. -O you glorious and you most wise king!"

io. CHAPTER

THE RISE OF THE CAROLINGIANS

- . with the help of Christ, the King of kings and the Lord of Lords . . . -- **Frcdegarii Continuationes'**

-The Franl'cn i n v a d e d them with ships and throwing spears, pierced them through in the floods and killed them. Thus, the sick finally triumphed over the enemies and **crobcrt<n** much kzieg5bcute, "ls they had ccaptured many, the **Franks** betiisce'd **with** their **sicgrcickcn** field-

Lord the land of the Goths. He tore down the highly praised cities of Nimc, Agde and Bizier, together with their house and city walls, set fire to them and set them on fire; he also destroyed the fortresses and fortifications of this territory. When he, who w a s guided in all his decisions by Christ, in whom alone lies the salvation of the si-gti, had defeated the army of his enemies, he returned to his territory …°

Fredegarii Continuationn'

-The trade of the Carolingians was war. Nothing else they had **learned, nothing** else **they were** nourished for, nothing else they could prove themselves by. - Wolfgang Braunfe[s'

In the course of the 7th century, the three parts of the empire - Austrasia, Neustria and Burgundy - became increasingly independent. A sign
The appearance of the three country names characteristic of the 7th and 8th centuries is also indicative of this development. Each kingdom **had** its own laws, and the Ade! forced the king not to
to appoint senior officials from other parts of the empire'.

At times, they even seemed close to dissolving into aristocratic anarchies. None of the many rulers reached the age of maturity. But in the murderous disputes between the rich and poor, the Hausmeiers and the nobility, the Austrasian majordomo increasingly pushed his way to the top. And while the hereditary nature of the house meieranit was not recognized in Ngustria or Burgundy, the tendency towards it gradually became established in the East.

BLUTIGE R AUFTAKT UNT€" BISCHOF **KUNIBERT,** Pi PPIN THE ELDER SON **GRIMOA** LD AND ST. SiGIBERT

Pippin had been in charge of Austrian since 6za. However, when Dagobert 1st became sole ruler and moved from Merz to Paris in 63i, the Hausmeier in Metz was disempowered, demoted to tutor of the king's son and the three-year-old 5igibert III, a saint of the Catholic Church, was installed as king of Austrian. However, the actual regent, alongside Duke Ansegisel - the son of St. Arnulf, Bishop of Metz - was already Bishop Kunibert of Cologne {6z3-d63). As archdeacon of the Trier church - by the Hi. Spirit, the Synod

and the king's command' - naturally against his will, Kunibert, like so many of his peers a 'political saint' {Wallace-Hadrill), played a major role in the late Merovingian Empire. He waged war with the Wends. Dagobert gave him the conquered Castell Trajectum (Utrecht) as his own, on condition that he convert the Frisians from here. And when Dagobert died in 63q, Bishop Kunibert promoted the rise of the Carolingians.

Under Sigibert III, Pippin was immediately restored to the throne of Austria. And Bishop Kunibert, who grew up betweenTrfer and Metn, where Pippin's estates were located, and had therefore been acquainted with him since his early days, entered into an -eternal alliance of friendship with him. Both also ensure their lasting devotion, as they treat everyone "ludely and with kindness". Both take part in the division of the royal estate. Both reign together. And after Pippin's death {6qo), his son Grimoald 1 (the Elder), as protegc of Bishop Kunibert and based on his great material and even greater political power, rises to the position of Hausmeier in Austria. He was the first to attempt to dethrone the Merovingian dynasty in favor of his own dynasty, which gradually led to the hereditary nature of the majordomo¡, albeit only in the Eastern Empire, where the House of Iberia was already called "Prince of the Franks" in the 7th century, "Underking-.'

Of course, the transfer of power from father to son was not entirely bloodless. There were two main rival groups at the time,

Pippin's son Grimoald was at the head of the Pippinids,
The other groppe was led by a certain Otto, whose father, the domesticus Uro, had made Dagobert I the educator of his son Sigibert III. The other groppe was led by a certain Otto, whose father, the domesticus Uro, had made Dagobert I the tutor of his son Sigibert III. Otto, guardian of the underage king, claimed the succession to the office of Hausmeier against Pippin's son Grimoald. The Thuringian Duke Radulf and the Agilolfing Fara stood by Orto.

His father Chrodoald had fallen out of favor with Dagobert, at the instigation of St. Bishop Arnulf of Meta and Pippin, and was murdered in Trier on royal orders in 6ay. To avenge his father, Fara j o i n e d the Thuringian Duke Radulf. Of Dagobert's holy son Sigibert (later honored as weather lord, relics in Nancy, feast: i. February) u= 4< '- - ---
-wild battle" presumably between Mainz and Vogelsberg
While Fara was killed, the persecuted Radulf was able to c l a i m victory in Thuringia at the Unstrtit. -It is said that many thousands of men fell by the sword there (Fredcgar). Otto, however, was defeated at the instigation of Grimold, Bishop Kunibert's close friend (in amiciciam consrrin-
gens), 6 n or 43 *-Fldem Alemannic Duke Leuthari was murdered. Now nothing stood in the way of Grimoald's office as Hausmeier;
He ruled Austria for about *4 years.

King Sigibcrr, initially childless and under Grimoald's curatel, now had to adopt his son, who was given the Merovingian royal name Childcbert (III), a reign shrouded in darkness, roughly between 66o and S6z. However, 5igibert himself had another son, Dagobert II. And when the holy king (who refused to support the equally holy Pope Martin I in the fight against monotheletism [p.337 ff.
synods without royal authorization) in January 636
Grimoald and Bishop Dido of Poiriers met in the Pippin family cloister in Nivelles and set the course for the death.

KingSigibert, who died on i. KingSigibert, who died on February 6s6 at the age of zy, had entrusted his underage child to Grimoald's care. However, the ambitious majordomo of France now undertook his so-called coup d'état, the first attempt to bring the Pippinids to the Frankish royal throne. Through Bishop Dido, he had the still-underage Merovingian prince Dagobert 11th made a monk in order to secure the crown for his own son Chil- debert (III). As agreed, Bishop Dido first took the rightful heir to the throne Dagobert to himself in Poitiers and placed him in a monastery in Ireland in *66o/66 i* in order to secure the crown for his own son Chil- debert (III).

to eliminate him forever. Of course, this was prevented both by powerful Australian opposition and, above all, by the resistance of the Neustrian Franks, who wanted to make their own, still unruly King Chlotar JIl. the overall ruler. Grimoald was thus lured into a trap, handed over to the Neustrian dynasty and imprisoned in Paris. There he ended up on the scaffold around 66s due to Dagobert II's exile. His 5th son Childebertus adoptivus presumably also fell with him, or at least died. In his place, Childeric II (66s-dy5), a younger brother of Chlotar III, Queen Balthilde's youngest son, who was only seven years old, became king in Austrian.

After just three generations, 66z the male line of the Pippinids became extinct. They had produced a king and two emperors. Now only two of Grimold's sisters were still alive, the abbess Gertrude of Nivelles and Begga, who had been married to Ansegisel, the second son of St. Arntilf of Metz, since around S3§. The Pippiriid inheritance between Kohlenwald and Maas passed to the Moselle Arnulfings, whose estates were located around Meta, Verdun, Tongern and perhaps also around Trier. The son of Ansegisel and Begga, named Pippin (Pippin II, the Middle) after his grandfather, and his descendants thus had the vast possessions of the Arnulfingcrn and Pippinids, their household estates in the Meuse and Moselle - a history-making ruling potential.

. . AND **VtEL ÜROMMES**

The political events of these years are rather nebulous. Does the second half of the y. century is one of the darkest periods of medieval history. For one thing, with the end of the Fredegar Chronicle 6 3 the contemporary sources almost completely disappear. Secondly, the Merovingian child kings, almost all of whom were of minority age, increasingly became the plaything of large imperial factions, not least the Arnulfing-Pippinids.

The church politics of Grimoald and his circle emerge more clearly. The later beheaded man had close contacts with the leading religious figures of the time. He was friends with the bishops Desiderius of Cahors and Dido of Poitieis. He loved

* 4 4 King 5igibert founded the monasteries of Stablo (Stavelot) and Malmédy in the dioceses of Maastricht and Cologne in the northeastern expanses of the Ardcnnen, for which Sigibert provided a forest area of twelve miles.

Grimosld's mother, St. Lduberga (ltta), is the founder of a Pippinian house abbey, the women's monastery at Nircllcs, the oldest in the Netherlands. And both also founded Fosses Abbey to the west of Namur for those Irish monks who had been expelled from Neustrobur- gund by Hausmeier Erchinoald together with their abbot Foillan. Some of them enlarged the "family" and "mother monastery" of Nivelles - a place of breeding in the midst of an unruly people - (Hümmcler), thus making it a

of the double monasteries notorious since Christian antiquity.

The first abbess was the daughter of St. Iduberga, who had the same name.

if St. Gertrude of Nivelles, Grimoald's young sister. She only wanted to be the handmaid and bride of Jesus Christ, to consecrate her virginity to the heavenly king (Hüinmeler); a bride of God, however, with close relations to the Irish monks, especially to the likewise holy Abbot Follan. The latter, who soon after his expulsion was taken in by St. Idubcr- ga, St. Gertrude, and continued to maintain contact with the mother monastery {van Uytfanghe), was slain in the forest of Seneffe around 655 while returning home from Nivelles and thrown into the ditch of a pigsty. However, he returned to Nivelles after a long procession, whereupon the cult of the

-St. Gertrude expanded from Wallonia to the Rhineland. St. Gertrude, however, who was already a twelve-year-old perpetually chaste.

was emaciated by her asceticism. She resigned at the age of thirty and entrusted the abbot's office to Grimoald's only daughter Wulfetrude, her n i e c e , so that everything would remain in the family. She then lived only three more years - in prayer and penance - (van Uytfanghe). And followed during

The cult of St. Foillan in5 Paradise - while on earth their cult quickly spread from Brabant to Germany and Poland, becoming one of the most widespread medieval communities of saints.

It makes sense that Gertrude first became the patron saint of travelers (they -'drink the 'Gertrudenminne'- when leaving), but then also the patron saint of a good death ("May Saint Gertrude prepare a shelter for you!"). And from the ry. Century her invocation against rats and mice increased. In lcography, she appears in the garb of a nun or prince with a crown and princely hat, but also with mice clambering all over her or on her X-bishop's staff or sitting on her stomach: a symbol of the unclean and evil! It was mice that **disturbed** her while she was spinning devoutly**.**

Well, labyrinthine tendrils, clerical propaganda. But the fact is that the Pippinian family monastery, like so many monasteries, benefited the family's domestic power and therefore m e t with fierce resistance from the Neustrian aristocracy, which was of course politically motivated."

ST. BA LTHILDE KILLS NINE BtSCHÖFE

Grimoald's unsuccessful attempt to overthrow the throne sidelined the Pippini dynasty in terms of power politics for two decades. They were replaced by Neustadt and Burgundy, but not so much the royal house as the high nobility of these lands.

Initially, of course, 8althilde, who had been an Anglo-Saxon slave to the Neo-Roman Empire through the Hausmeier Erchinoald

Balthildis was married to Clovis - t 3Ms) and fought the continued weakening of the kingship with all means at her disposal. In contrast, her husband, to whom she bore three sons, remained,

Chlotar, Theuderich and Childerich, without any real influence. E died in 6J7. * ' z3 years old, a libertine, allegedly a vulturer and

went mad in the last years of his life. And when Hausmeier Erchinoald died immediately afterwards, Balthilde probably ensured that he was not succeeded in the new Hausmeier office by his son Leudesius, but by Ebroin, a landlord who had apparently been favored in the Soissonnais, but who de facto also had the majordomo of Burgundy at his disposal; undoubtedly the man of the day. As Ebroin did not come from the high aristocracy, the one and only slave presumably hoped to have an easier time with him. And at least initially, she was able to pursue a centralist policy together with him and with the support of the bishops Chrodehert of Paris, Eligius of Noyon and Audoin of Rouen. She prevented a division of the empire among her sons and governed the New Testament realm exclusively in the name of Chlotar St., but after the fall of the Pippinids, the household emperor Grimoald in Austrasia, she secured her youngest son Childeric II 66s the succession.

In Burgundy, Balthildc had Archbishop Aunemund of Lyon and his brother Dalfinus, the praefectus of the city, executed between 66o and 663, as the metropolitan had evidently mobilized the Burgundian high aristocracy against the Neustrian royal house. The charge against him was not only high treason, but also treason, as he had wanted to call a foreign power (extranea gens) into the realm. The sources only leave it unclear whether the metropolitan was executed in Chalon or secretly murdered. However, the Anglo-Saxon priest and monk Aeddi Ste- phanus (Eddins) reported in the /early 8th century that the new Jezabel (who, however, became a saint of the Catholic Church; feast: zf'. January or February 3) had killed no less than nine bishops - apparently also for purely political reasons, because of her opposition to the Neustrian dynasty, probably to Merovingian kingship in general.

Perhaps this figure, which does not even include priests and deacons, is exaggerated. But at the time, many highly feudalized bishops in particular wielded a wealth of power that often considerably exceeded the ruling rights of dukes and counts

and basis, indeed the very existence of the throne, was increasingly threatened. In any case, anti-clericalism was out of the question for the queen. She maintained close relations with various prelates (Audoin of R.ouen and **Ckrodebczt of** f'acts g,ehütten rv ih'<" Bc"- tern), she also supported many of the then already very numerous monasteries in Neustria through generous donations of land and money, donations in gold and silver, especially several founders. For example, the men's abbey of Corbie (diocese of Amiens) was extremely generous. Or the nunnery of Cala, Chelles-sur-Marne {diocese of Pa- ris), which she was forced to enter as a nun when she fell around 66y and where she died around 68o. The Vita Btlthildis celebrates her as an energetic regcnt and Christian at the same time. And finally, she is a saint."

EBROIN AND **LEODEGA R, ANTICHNIST AND FOLLOWER OF CHRIST**

Ecclesiastical tradition has branded Ebroin as a beast, the scum of the earth and the Antichrist. One source calls him an "otherwise capable man, but all too quick to execute bishops". However, Ebroin was by no means hostile to the Church in principle; on the contrary, he was the founder of his own house abbey, the Marian monastery in Soissons (around 66y), and a lifelong friend of St. Audoin, Bishop of Roucn, who, as an advisor to the kings of Paris, was the last to effectively oppose the rise of the Pippinids.

Ebroin obviously also had good relations with St. Eli- gius, Bishop of Noyon-Tournai, a close friend of Bishop Audoin. However, the Hausmeier was of rather poor origin and therefore not obliged, for family reasons, t o spare the rich nobles, who, not quite rightly, considered him an upstart. He pushed back their influence, while also minimizing that of the Mcrovings, but ruthlessly pursued the interests of the crown, the reunification of the Franconian kingdom and the reunification of the Franconian kingdom.

tinter Neustrian leadership. He thus came into conflict with the increasingly escalating claims to power of the secular, but especially ecclesiastical nobility of Neustria and Burgundy. They were led by Bishop Lcodegar (Leudegarius) of Autun, a descendant of the Franco-Burgundian high aristocracy, a brother of Gairenus (Wa- rin), Count of Paris, and a nephew of the Austrasian Bishop Dido of Poitiers, who had once been highly favored by Ebroin himself."

Through his uncle Dido, Lendegar had become archdeacon in Poitiers, then probably also abbot of Saint-Maixent there. And when two regional aristocratic factions had fought over the bishop's throne in Autun for two years, one candidate fell and the other was banished, Ltodegar succeeded to the coveted seat around 66s through the favor of Queen Balthilde
and became one of the most important politicians in 7th-century Gaul. But while he led a lavish, splendor-loving life, subduing the enemy parties with violence and terror, he was also one of the most important politicians of the 7th century.
and especially venerated the relics of the martyr and city hero Syrnphorian, little did he know that he himself would become a holy martyr."

For Leodegar's lust for power soon brought him into conflict with the no less domineering Ebroin, whose efforts at centralization he fiercely resisted, while hostilities were probably opened by the bishop, and apparently repeatedly in the various phases of the struggle - "battles of the greatest magnitude in the Mcrowing empire" (Büttner). And while Ebroin felt himself to be the representative of the crown vis-à-vis the Optimates, and was above all an opponent of the Buigundian separatists, Bishop Leodegar became the leader of the opposition, the exponent of the aristocratic party, which resisted any form of unification.

The unexpectedly early death of Chlotar III, the Neustrian king
In the spring of 6y3, Ebroin was severely affected by the death of the king, which led to a complete *tJmschwu* The House of Ivy brought the younger brother of the king, Theuderich III, Balthilde's second son, who was inter- nated in Saint-Denis, to the throne of Neustroburgund. The Optimates around Bishop Leodcgar pro-

Theiiderich's younger brother, Childerich 11, who had already ruled Austrasia since 663, quickly gained recognition.

Ebroin and his king undc dagen in the summer of 6yj deAd4 and episcopate. The emperor, shorn as a monk, ended up in the distant bailiff's monastery of Luxeuil, Theuderic III shorn in Saint-Denis; Childeric II of Austrasia came to the throne, Leodegar in the immediate vicinity of the king. And since the latter recognized, writes an anonymous monk from Saint-Symphorien of Augustodunum (Antun) in the vita of his hero (written before 6q3), - that Saint Lcodegar outshone all with the light of wisdom, he had him constantly around him in his palace and made him his household minister-; and -jcdcrmann- wished himself lucky to have Leodegar as his household minister". In reality, Leodegar never d i d become the household chamberlain, but was a close advisor to Childeric, "rector palatii", as which he soon played such a dominant role that he got on the court's nerves, especially as he also criticized King Elie and his cousin Bilichilde. In the language of his biographer, it was the -a1th evil enemy- who sowed -the weeds of discord- between king and bishop, which is why -the devil's hat, -the envy of the wicked- rose up against the Holy One of God, and the ruler "sought a connivance for Lcodegar's death". Courageously, the episcopal hero went to the palace on the morning of the feast day and offered himself for sacrifice on the day of Christ's death: the king also wanted to pierce him with his own hand ...", but the h1. Leodegar wanted to escape rather than desecrate the plague of Christ's resurrection by murdering him.

Because he was afraid of martyrdom, it will probably be nobody iauben.

The fact is that St. Bishop was overthrown at Easter* 37s and was now, for his part, exiled to his opponent Ebroin in the monastery of Luxeuil at the suggestion of the Greats and Bishops", as the Vita states, where they allegedly, hardly without ulterior motives, so much

became one heart and one soul that the abbot temporarily separated."

-But the divine judgment was not long in coming for Childeric," Anonyinus from Antun notes with satisfaction. King Childeric II, the twenty-year-old who also took revenge on some of the bishop's accomplices, had Count Hector of Marseilles executed and the Frankish Great Bodilo beaten up, was executed by the latter, a partisan of Leodegar, and one of his own.

The conspirators murdered him in late summer* 75 al2f the)agd in the forest of Lognes, in the silva Lauconis; also his five-year-old son Dagobert and his pregnant wife Bilichilde,

-which is painful to say", as it says in the -Deeds of the Kings of France. And now the monastery prisoners all around returned vengefully, -g1ike poisonous snakes, which the first spring sun lures out of their wintry hiding place" (Passio Leudegarii)."

Lcodegar and Ebroin came from Luxeuil, but separated again immediately. Theuderich came from Saint-Denis, Dagobert II from Ireland. A party in Austrian wanted to elevate him to king. And a comet in the sky ignited murder and rebellion. Chaos was soon rampant. Curses, betrayal and manslaughter were the order of the day, and such great confusion arose, writes the monk from Augustodunum, that it was believed the Antichrist would appear. As is often the case, things are particularly turbulent - among Christians.

It was not Ebroin who became Hausmeier, but Erchinoald's 5ohn Leudesius. Ebroin, however, attacked the Neo-Burgundians with Australian help, took the royal court in Nogent in a coup d'état, captured the kingship in Baizieux and the king at the mouth of the river Somme. Household Emperor Lcudesius was liquidated in favor of Household Emperor Ebroin. And his pariahs, including Duke Waimar of Champagne {who then became bishop and is said to have been honored), Bishop Bobo of Valence and Bishop Desideratus {Diddo) of Chalon, who was at the head of an army, moved into Burgundy against Leodegar in 6y6.

After fighting bravely on both sides of Autun until the evening, the saint surrendered. Undaunted and

-strengthened by the meal of the Lord- he rode, says the monk's biographer, -into the enemy camp, sacrificing himself for his fellow citizens-. And there the devils (also Catholic, some of them even episcopal) received him "like wolves for an innocent lamb". But no cry of pain came when his eyes were torn out of his head, but he sang psalms in praise of God". And when he lay, blinded, his lips and tongue cruelly mutilated, for almost two years in the nunnery of Fćcamp (diocese of Rouen), he miraculously regained his speech -

"but by the hand of God his lips and tongue grew again quite wonderfully, and I myself saw how the words flowed from his mouth . .."

Stripped of his dignity before a synod of bishops in 6y8, condemned to death before the highest court, Leodegar was beheaded in a forest in Artois on Ebroin's orders as a co-guilty party to the royal order, Immediately after his death, he was considered to be a măriyr and, after Ebroin's liquidation, was venerated as a saint. He became the patron saint of Lucerne and, of course, Autun and, in the ecclesiastical heroic saga, the "faithful apostle of peace, the model of a priest", "adorned with all the Christian virtues". -The L-B**de performed a series of miracles for which the reigning bishop would not have found the time. For all his wealth and landed property, Leodegar had not founded a monastery ... Even his care for the poor only drew on the full when the accumulated treasures could no longer be used politically - (Borst).

Indeed, it was only when Leodegar was back in his city of Augustus dunum to graze his flock, when he was threatened and surrounded, the gates rammed down, the fortifications fortified, but had no chance of escaping, that he stubbornly refused to leave with his treasures, as our monk boasts, but instead "distributed his wealth to the poor". A true rider of Christ. - And finally, the faithful prayed: Pray for us, St. Leodegar, blessed confessor of Christ, that we may place our hope in the cross of our Lord alone. -'-

The historian Ewig, however, succeeds in creating a scientific masterpiece. He makes Leodegar a follower of Christ. And he does so on the basis of a single letter, his last.

Imprisoned, mutilated, without eyes, without tongue, Leodegar wrote to his mother, after his brother's execution and before his own, suddenly quite Christian, pious sentences, such as: let all sorrow be turned into joy, -not to hate, but to love- we are here. -No virtue is more perfect than the love of God, through which we become children of God … – Such little sentences had hardly ever crossed the bishop's mind, let alone his tongue, unless it was during more on Sunday, so to speak. But even his - 'Passio- expressly assures him that he was happy about the downfall of his enemies. But Ewig, by virtue of Leodegar's song, crushed by the fear of death, "sees the dark epoch illuminated and warns against judging the Merovingian centuries only by the bloody deeds of which the chronicles are full.

After the exceptions, of course. (I c i t e - here and always hisroriographically! - the rule).

The saint's mother, Sigrada, was imprisoned in a monastery. His brother, the Count of Paris, had previously been sentenced to stoning as the (alleged) perpetrator of Childeric's 11th murder. Some bishops went into exile. Others, such as the metropolitan of Lyon, Genesius, against whom prelates had still been fighting with might and main, finally accepted the fait sccompli created by Ebroin. Still others, especially in New Stria, sympathized with the sicger. Incidentally, the assassinations did not stop - one of the highlights of Frankish history in the 17th century {Fischer)."

PirPlN Ï Ï ., "THE ALWAYS SOGLEICi-t ON SEfNE ÜEtND£ LOSSTÜRZTE - - - - -

The recall of the last Austrasian Merovingian5 Dagobert II in the year 6yö from almost twenty years of Irish monastic rule by Hausmefer Wulfoald was undoubtedly a blow to Pippin 11, the middle one. For he obviously wanted to become a Hausmefer in Austrasia at all costs, like his grandfather Pippin and his uncle Grimoald. And he didn't have to wait long. As early as Christmas 79 - z3. December, one of King Dagobert's sons killed his father while hunting near Stenay in the Ar- dennɕn, near Verdun - through the treachery of the dukes and with the consent of the bishops (pef dolum ducum et con- sensu episcoporum: Vita Wilfridi). The nobility and episcopate defeated Dagobert's patron saint St. Peter of Stablo and Malmedy. House imperial Wulfoald also disappeared with the king.

But who could be more interested in this than Ebroin, as Pip-

In Austrasia, after Dagobert's 11th removal and the simultaneous end of Wulfoald, the dux Pippin was probably the most powerful man; since the• 4 century - called "of Heris Valley" (although
Heristal hei Lüttich, as early as 7-- in a document as a crown estate was never the private property of the Carolingians). The grandson of Pippin I the Elder and Bishop Arnulf of Metz, Pippin II the Middle is the ancestor of both -arl Martell and Charles the Great - and actually opens the story of the Carolingians, who are now stealing the Merovingian legacy with increasing audacity.

Pippin, as dux Austrasioruin lord of the Eastern Empire, is now on one side in the final battle for Frankish rule, together with his relative, Duke Martin, probably dux of Champagne. On the other side are Ebroin, who is joined by Bishop Reolus of Reims, as well as the previously deposed bishops Desideratus, known as Did- do, of Chalon-sur-Saone, and Bobo of Valence, at Leodegar's instigation. In a
• bloody battle i' 68o in the beech forest (Bois-du-days), east

of Laon, in which many people were killed by both Seibert, Ebroin was victorious and forced Theuderic III's recognition in Austrasia as well. While Pippin was able to escape, Martin - after Bishop Reolus had sworn him safe conduct by means of a false oath - on "empty reliquaries" (a trick successfully practiced by Ebroin once before) - was captured and "killed with all his people" (Fredegarii Cnntinuationes).

Neuchâtel seemed to have the upper hand. After an arduous struggle, Hausmeier Ebroin was de facto sole ruler in New Stria and Burgundy, but without claiming the throne. However, he paid for his attempt to assert himself in Austria with his life just one year after his victory. Shortly after his return from the war, in late April or early May, Ermenfred, a high Neustrian palace official, split his head open just as Ebroin was about to go to early mass before dawn on Sunday ..." Ermenfred, however, fled to Pippin, who may also have been the instigator of this /vtord, or at least had the greatest part in it, and rewarded the deed by accepting Möidei into the royal council. Pippin had prevailed in the battle for supremacy against the Neustrian house masters, who had been in power for decades; not least because part of the Neustrian nobility now returned t o the Austric majordomo.[1] '

Ebroin's successor in the Neustrian dynasty, Waratto, sought peace with Pippin. However, Pippin waged civil wars (bella civilia) against Waratto's son Gislemar and many K3mp- fe-. And Waratto's successor and son-in-law Berchar, who owed his dignity to his mother-in-law Ansfled, once again came into opposition to the Arnulfing, whose conspiratorial front was strengthened by all kinds of defectors, including episcopal ones, such as Metropolitan Reolus, who now became friends with Pippin8. The bishop and his followers provided the emperor with favors "and set him up against Berchar and the other Franks" {Fredegarii Continuationes).

Pippin again took the lead of the rebels and sticB 68d with to the Australian nobility from the coal forest. Was he, says

Paulus Diakonus, -a man of immense boldness, who immediately rushed at his enemies and defeated them. In the Battle of Tertry on the Somme, played up by Carolingian tradition as an epochal event, Pippin defeats the Neo-European army under Theuderic III and his household emperor Berchar. Immediately afterwards, he allies himself with Waratto's widow Ansfled, who soon murders her son-in-law Berchar. Pippin succeeds the victim in the office of the Neustrian household meier and thus also takes over the leadership of Feustria, where, as the old annals s a y , he r e c e i v e s the king - with his treasures and the court household - as if it were an "inventory item". In fact, the kings are nothing more than extras, mere puppets on the throne.

8th century only ruled nominally.

Pippin harbors the Merovingian Theuderich in Neustria, but while he returns to Austria, he also gives him his own people, his own loyal household masters, first Norbert, then his son Grimoald. His elder son Drogo, elevated to duke in Champagne, now brings home Ansf)ed's daughter Anstand as his wife, the widow of Berchar, who was murdered by her mother - the noble and capable Ansfledis (matrona nobilis et strenua) - for Pippin's benefit. So everything falls into place nicely. The legacy of the Merovingians is almost de facto established, the Pippinid family begins its ascent from provincial nobility to the lords of Europe."

Pippin resided less in Metz than in Cologne, where his wife Plectrudis, a daughter of the later Bishop Hugobert of Maastricht, probably founded the Maria im Kapitol monastery. And Pippin himself, the nephew of the first abbess (Ger- trud) of the great monastery of Nivelles in Brabant (p. z8i f.), was already particularly attached to the Church, was a founder and promoter of monasteries, venerated St. Perer in particular, whom he chose as his patron saint, and generally had a reputation among his contemporaries for particular piety and spreading the faith. For war and the clergy, blood and baptism, mass murder and mission always belonged closer and closer together.

This is also shown by the traits with which Pippin afflicts the lesser ones under King Radbod, who firmly adheres to the old faith.

HEAVY **ISSUANCE AT THE FREEZE**

Alongside the Saxons (and 8retons), the Frisians resisted the Franks most fiercely. It took Christian **soldiers** and missionaries around a century to subjugate them.

The Frisians were a farming, fishing and trading people who did not leave their ancestral homes on the North Sea, the coastal areas between the Ems and Weser rivers, even during the Migration Period. It is possible that some of the Meuse were already brought under Chlotar's 1st Bormäfiigkeir in the middle of the eighth century. However, King Dagobert 63o certainly gave the Bishop of Cologne the See of Utrecht on the condition that he convert the Frisians. During the bloody quarrels under Dagobert's successors, Friesland, its power and its economy flourished and some Irish preachers once again attempted conversion, albeit in vain. Bishop Wilfrid of York, a pacesetter for Roman ob- servance, was apparently no more fortunate. Repeatedly driven out by his brother bishops, Archbishops Theodore and Brilttwald of Canterbury, he took up the cause of conversion.

in Rome and worked in Friesland in the winter of 7 7s, where Prince Aldgisel, King Radbod's father, welcomed him."

But success only came with arms, just a few years after Wilfrid's guest appearance. Now Pippin, in close alliance with the Church, fought the peace in 68q and *695.* He occupied western Friesland as far as the Old Rhine, whereupon he and the Frankish nobility transferred land in the conquered territories to the Church. At last, the warriors and other glad messengers had the longed-for success, -When the clash of arms had died down and Radbod had been thrown back by Pippin-, writes Camill Wampach, -the people flowed back to the church.

Franconians looking for a place to live moved to these areas. The country invited immigration …" That doesn't sound bad. And the former Bonn professor goes on to write with satisfaction that many - Crofigrund gentlemen - are now -'becoming benefactors …– not of the Frisians, of course; "becoming benefactors of Willibrord ... We note: the Apo- stel finds its way into the big circle."

That sounds good again - for the "Apostle of the Tiles". The Northumbrian Willibrord, a pupil of Wilfrid in York, appeared just one year after Pippin's campaign with twelve other propagandists, immediately placed himself under the protection of the Frankish ruler and preached in agreement with him - bringing countless losses to the devil every day and corresponding gains to the Christian faith {Beda). It is significant that the nobility were the first to c o n v e r t t o Christianity.

St. Willibrord, indoctrinated by the Scottish monks at Ripon near York as an infant, at the age of six, with papal authorization and the support of the Australian high nobility, brought Christian science further among the unwelcome (p. 3io). First Antwerp and then the monastery of Echternach served as his rear bases. His special patron was the abbess Irmina of Oeren near Trier, probably the mother of Plektrud, Pippin's wife. Irmina made a gift of Echternach to Willibrord in 697 or *6$8.* A little earlier, on his second trip to Rome, Pope Sergius I had appointed him archbishop at Pippin's request, who had an entire Frisian ecclesiastical province in mind. And Pippin designated his castle Traiectum (Utrechr) as Willi- brord's seat, as the spread of Christianity among the Germanic tribes on the border of the empire strengthened his political influence (Buchner). -Frankish rule and Christian mission supported each other" (Levison). - The political and ecclesiastical interests in the new mission territory went hand in hand (Zwölfer). All this has long been proven and undisputed. First the sword of the nobility, then the chatter of the clergy, then the joint fleecing.

1After Pippin's death, however,i7*4) SChIug the pagan Frisian hero

Radbod, who also called himself king, withdrew the Franks. He again conquered the areas west of the Old Rhine, and with Frankish rule, the Christian church also collapsed. Only when Radbod died in 7rp did the Franks advance into West Friesland again. "The country invaded ... - Karl J\/farteîI, who promoted Archbishop Willibrord's work through rich donations of fiscal property, while the more or less enslaved rest was "adapted", moved decimal
against the Frisians and fÎ 7i3 andz34. '• two wars against Duke Bobo, the whole of central Friesland, while the eastern Friesians, together with the Saxons, were only taken over by Charles -the Great- in the years to come.
could do."

CamilÍ Wampach (once also director of the Luxembourg government archives), however, is able to report on the auspicious beginnings of the Christian faith in Friesland under St. Willibrord. Willibrord, churches, solemn services, etc.; Franks also, who in - these border areas, . . . who kept watch as the responsible outpost of the empire and who built the oratory on their extensive property, in their broadly situated manor houses and their casatae, the first basilicas in honor of the Mother of God and the Princes of the Apostles, where they could gather with their more or less large cołonengcfolge for divine service . . .-'-

Extensive estates, broadly spread out manors, a succession of colonies - isn't that a glorious Christendom?

And things are getting better here.

KARL MA RTE LL " ... WITH MUCH BLIJTVERGIES SEN AND WITH GoTTES Hirr -

Pippin's elder son Drogo had already succumbed to a fever in yo8. And the younger Grimoald (11th), majordomo in Neustria and now Pippin's own successor, was killed on the Wag to søi-

In April du was killed by the Frisian Rantgar in the Liège Basilica of the martyr Lambert in the Palatinate of Jupille hei Liittich. As the Hausmeier himself died just a few months later, on i6. DecembeF7*4. , the
The supremacy of the Carolingians in the Franconian Empire was endangered.

Shortly before his death, Pippin harbored Grimoald's illegitimate offspring Theudoald, then only six years old, as Hatismeier; however, his three-year-old son Charles (from a secondary marriage with the beautiful Chalpai- da), nicknamed "the Hammer- (Tudes, Tudites, M "rtellus), which only emerged in the q, century and symbolized the destruction of his enemies. Pippin's widow Plek trud, who ruled as guardian under the nominal reign of Dagobert III, imprisoned Charles Cartel, her stepfather, in Cologne. In the summer of 7-J, however, he fled - with God's help - and fought his Neustrian opponents, Hausmeier Raganfred and King Chilperich IIi7*W 2,I), who was called Daniel as a cleric.
Catholics, of course, who shortly before each other, in the covenant with pagan Tiles and Saxons, had advanced victoriously against Plektrud's widow's seat of Cologne, -by jointly ravaging those lands" {Fredegarii Continuationes).[2] -

But then Charles made his move - and there was great bloodshed on both sides, as the same chronicle reports. Charles defeated the Neustrians yi6 in the Ardennes, south of Liège,
7 7 also near Vinchy, south of Cambrai. He chased the fugitives to Paris, returned laden with booty and forced Plektrud to surrender. Cologne, including the delivery of its rich black. This meant that he initially held the regency in Austrasia; however, with Chlotar IV,i7* *s) he gave the country a - albeit completely dependent on him - ruler.
king, practically a counter-king to the neustrian king.
Chilperich.

yi8 Charles Martel ravaged Saxony as far as the Weser and in the same year or the next defeated a Neustrian-Aquitanian contingent under Hausmeier Raganfred and Duke Eudo at Soissons. He soon waged new wars against the Saxons and fought them once again y38, now fighting "those incorrigible

Gentiles to pay tribute and take hostages - in the wording of our source: -… Charles, the valiant man, set out with the Frankish army, crossed the Rhine at the confluence of the Lippe according to a clever plan, devastated the greater part of that region with much bloodshed, made the wild people partly liable to pay tribute, took many hostages from them and then returned home victorious with God's help - in between he marched against the Bavarians twice more, once, 73s. against the Swabians, who were finally subdued, and in the following year waged two wars against Aquitaine, which he plundered extensively.

After long battles and serious setbacks, Charles was recognized as the Frankish House Emperor. On the death of Chlotar IV in 7*q, Duke Eudo, whom he tolerated again, handed over the fugitive Merovingian shadow king Chilperich II together with his kingship, but recognized him as rex in Neustria. Of course, Chilperich only lived for another year.

He then had Theuderich IV (y- $71 ---gieren" - eifl king on the throne, of whom no source speaks, not even of his death, which we only learn by chance. And se - 737 Charles ruled unrestrictedly without any Merovingian, the actual founder of the Carolingian Empire.

Charles Martel had consolidated his power through continuous battles. Year after year he went out, not only to secure the borders, but to push them forward, to subjugate and enslave. He not only fought against the Neustrians, but all around, against the Alemanni, against the c' 7 y and z3O extremely bloody victories and missionized Bishop Pirmin. rently in the interests of his rule. He waged wars against the wild Frisian sea people (-one of the main achievements of his life- : Braunfels), two campaigns$_s$*. 7ii and 34, during which he finally even in a "bold sea train" and - with the appropriate number of ships" advanced across the Zuiderzee with a fleet, whereupon he completely devastated the country, the duke, their -hinterlistigeri Ratgeber-, killed, the Frisian sanctuaries schleikik and burned - the good Christian way, the Good

message and, to a certain extent, his own power. He fought the Saxons, to whom he sent Bonffatius with a letter of safe conduct. He marched against the Thuringians, the Bavarians, to Butgurtd, into Provence and against the -geris perfida- of the Saracens, the Arabs 73*2 '

THE DEPARTURE OF THE IS LAM

The expansion of Islam, initially unappreciated by both Persia and Byzantium, was the most significant event of the7. J century, indeed a **unique** historical phenomenon. Since the gerinanic
Since the Migration Period, nothing has determined European history in such a way. And while the result of the remotely comparable earlier Hun and later Mongol invasions was only short-lived in Europe, the consequences of the Arab invasion continue to this day. -Even today, the followers of the new religion are still to be found everywhere where it was victorious under the first caliphs. Compared to the slow progress of Christianity, its lightning-fast spread is a true miracle" (Pirenne)."

On the one hand, Islam {the word means, according to Quranic usage: submission, surrender to the divine will) was strictly monotheistic. It condemned the Trinity dogma of Christianity, which was widespread in Arabia and therefore feared, as polytheism. (However, Muhammad himself had temporarily admitted three goddesses, angelic intercessors, to Allah, but suddenly rejected them as too dangerous a compromise). On the other hand, Islam emerged from the elders of Judaism and Christianity, and was even closely related to them, albeit with its own characteristics (including the permission for the Maan to have four wives and uncounted wives).Like Christianity, Islam proclaimed the very near, terrible final judgment {when it did not come, of course, it was postponed further and further into the future, just like the Christians). One

also knew the fires of hell in the new old religion, the shadowy gardens of paradise, the duty to believe, to pray.

In Moses and Jesus, Islam, which wanted to restore the original religion, the religion of Abraham, did not see false prophets, but those who had not yet recognized the whole truth or whose disciples had distorted it. It is significant that the new faith was initially regarded as just another -'heresy- of Oriental Christianity¡, just as the scholastics still refer to Muslims uncertainly as -heretics or pagans-."

Mohammed ibn Abdallah was probably born II57 '> Mecca and was "called" on Mount Hirä around 6io by visions and voices from the other world. But it was his marriage to the already somewhat aged but rich merchant's widow Khadijah, de- an came/crriber he was, gave him the wirrschakJic < independence Wtir his prophetcncum, his nervous crises, auditory and visual hallucinations, mystical revelations. And after Khadijah's death, he indulged in the pleasures of a well-stocked harem - the sensual to the sensual.

Despite strong local patriotic tones, the beginnings were miserable. Mostly slaves and the poor adhered to Mohammed, reminiscent of the first followers of Jesus. Of his own family - even and especially - his trruer foster father and uncle Abii Tlilib remained unbelieving to the grave. So Gort finally allowed his prophet to fight unbelievers with weapons. The missionary became a warlord. (This was no different for the Christians from the 4th century onwards - only here a disgusting hypocrisy; after all, they did the opposite. part of what was taught). Muhammad proselytized at least with *ferocious* violence, with a little robbery at first, and even more modest bloodshed, a kind of petty war against the unbelieving father city. -The sustenance of my community," reads an ondit attributed to him, "rests on the hooves of their horses and the points of their spears as long as they do not till the fields; if they begin to do so, they will become like the rest of the people.

6zz, the year i of the Muslim calendar, the Prophet had fled from infidel Mecca to Medina. And when he once attacked a caravan from his native city with 3oo soldiers, with hosts of angels fighting on his side, he won his first military laurels. It nourished his
A)lüren probably just like that act of faith in Medina, where he beheaded 6z7 hundreds of Jews and took their wives and children to the
slavery - what an inspiring example for the Christian world! In 63o he took possession of Mecca again and
-converted it, which decided his victory in Arabia. He died in 63, his head in the shofi of his favorite wife - and in the midst of preparing for new campaigns, among those on which he had always had further divine revelations. - Paradise," he teaches, "lies in the shadow of swords. "*-

The major attack began in 633. Under Muhammad's first Saladin, his father-in-law Abbot1 Bekr (Ö3Z-d3q) - he advanced to caliph (Khalifa, successor) - the neighboring area between the Jordan and Euphrates rivers was won, just the beginning. However, under Caliph Olttäft 34 441, the actual creator of the
Islamic empire, was followed by a fantastically rapid victory.
run, above all at the expense of Christianity, whose countries are the Islamic wholesalers needed for their market economy.
-It is our task, Omar supposedly said, "to devour the Christians, and the task of our sons to devour their descendants while there are still any left." But even the Catholic "Handbook of Ecclesiastical History" repeatedly reveals the Arabs' behavioral tolerance during their conquests: -The same taxes were to be paid, and ecclesiastical life was not substantially disturbed ... In principle, churches and monasteries enjoyed relative freedom,

35. After a six-month siege, Damascus was conquered, Syria overrun in 636,3 Jerusalem and Antioch won, 63q Egypt,*4^. n&Ch the Battle of Nihawad, Persia. Penniless and without troops, his last king, Yazd-
gard (Jezdegerd) III. from province to province, until in 6yz in the area of
of Merw succumbed to an assassination attempt. 6q4 waf* also Caliph Omar

He was killed by a Persian slave in Medinai but before that, in just a few years, the Byzantine empire had shrunk to barely a third, the conquest of Herakleios, his life's work, had collapsed before his eyes.

Omar's successor Othman (64 i6) was also murdered, but before that47 Tripolitania, Cyrenaica were taken, 6qg Kyp- FOS, 6}4 Rhodes, where the famous KoloB was sold as scrap metal to a Jewish merchant. Even the Ottoman Roman fleet was defeated on the coast of Lycia, and Constantinople itself came under threat. Emperor Constance 11 {6 i-668) had already given up the city and ruled from Italy in his last years (S63-d68).

However, the Arabs bounced off Christian Byzantium and its fleet - the best in the Mediterranean and the whole of Europe from the 8th to the 2nd centuries. 668, 67*. 77 They stopped the Byzantine navy, better-built, better-armed ships, especially with the "Greek fire" invented by Kallinikos of Baalbek: a secret mixture of naphtha, bitumen, pitch, sulphur, resin, oil and unslaked lime, catapulted from the bow, which continued to burn under water and was the direct precursor of the schiefipulvei. Although the

For five years, between74 *Hd 6y8, the Arabs assaulted the Eastern Roman capital by sea and land in the fiercest attacks, but they were always beaten off anew. Caliph Moawijah MUfitß 7 . after a double victory of the Byzantines on land and sea, an unfortunate peace was signed.

In the rest of the world, however, the Arabs continued their triumphal procession. Under Abdul Melik {ö8y-Joy) and his son Welid 1. (you-yiy) they won Turkesian, Caucasia and North Africa, where the Berbers were "converted". ö8i the Moroccan Atlantic coast was reached for the first time, 6py Carihago was conquered. By *6Q8,* all the fortresses of North Africa had been taken for good, and from Tunis, the new f-ia capital, the Occidental fleet controlled the western Mediterranean. Even before the 5aculum came to an end, the Arabs possessed the largest territorial empire in world history, more extensive than the Roman Empire or the

Alexander's. After all, their empire stretched from the Aral Sea to the Nile and from the Bay of Biscay to China. Within an age, the Church lost two thirds of its faithful to Islam. And almost all Islamic conquests, apart from parts of Spain and the Balkans, have remained Islamic to this day.'°

The Iberian Peninsula was first visited by an Arab advance party of around 4°° men in July 2io. The next year The invasion army, 7°°OSoldiers, soon followed to add more coco strengthened. They invaded via Gibraltar (named after the Arab sub- commander Täriq ibn-Ziyäd). In the same year, the invaders destroyed the Spanish Visigothic kingdom at the Battle of Jerez de la Frontera {near Cadiz). Around7 i had sit all important cities in the country and 7 o, after over- the Pyrenees, conquered Narbonne. Finally, they were said to be advancing on Tours in order to plunder the church treasure piled up at the tomb of St. Martin.

Charles Martell then confronted the infidels with the army of the entire empire, raiders against raiders. Before the battle north of Poiiicrs, a -later ofr overestimated" victory (Nonn), they lay in wait against each other for only seven days. before the Arabs, defeated in -7- ktober 7@. retired to Spain. The report by Paulus Diakonus, which in part greatly exaggerates and in part understates the facts, supposedly leaves only iym own Schlachtopfcrn,37J Saracens bite the dust, dartinrer also the Muslim commander and governor of the caliph in Spain Abd- ar-Rachmän - all -with Christ's help" (Frede- garii Continuationes). -The world domination of Islam and the Christian-Germanic culture was fought for- (Mühlbacher), -saved the Christian West from being flooded by the Mohammedan barbarians (Acrssen), in short, a -creative victory- (Daniel-Rops), a victory also that -dcn Hi- larius cult revived licfi (Ewig).

Charles Martel was still fighting against the Arabs in 73 7i7 and 73s. He repeatedly invaded Aquitaine, -the Gothic 1and-, Provence and Narbonensis. After the storming of

kill the defenders of Avignon. He destroys Nimes with its old amphitheater. He ruins Agde, Béziers. He razed -the highly famous cities ... ... down to the ground, along with their house and city walls, set fire to them and set them on fire; he also destroyed the suburbs and fortifications of this region. When he, who was guided in all his decisions by Christ, in whom alone lies the salvation of victory, had defeated the army of his enemies, he returned safely to his territory, to the land of the sick, the seat of his rule." - Who was talking about Mohammedan barbarians* and Christian Germanic culture?

After every campaign, Charles, like his father Pippin of (un)blessed memory, hurries home "with many treasures", "with great treasures", "with great spoils", "with rich spoils of war", "with immense spoils and many prisoners", etc. And, of course, again and again with "the help of Christ", "with God's help". And of course, after the murderous campaign (and before the next one), also -in peace". This is what the chronicles of the so-called Predegar report after a highly successful raid in the south: - "Victorious and at peace he returned home again under the assistance of Christ, the King of kings, the Lord of lords. Amen."

Charles Martel also raged against his own family, with the exception of their great priest. He eliminated the two sons of Pippin's eldest son Drogo, Arnulf and Godofred, who obviously stood in the way of his thirst for power, while he showered their brother Hugh, Archbishop of Rouen, Bishop of Paris and Bayeux, Abbot of St-Wandrille and Jumieges, with benefices - content as he was in his fat and harmless (for Charles)."

The first - Carolingian - order practically ruled the entire empire under the Merovingian shadow kings, was called dux, princeps, patricius and subregulus by the popes, and in turn correctly certified himself as "maior domus". But since "the wise man", "the brave man", "the valiant fighter", "the great warrior", "the excellent

Warrior", the triumphant general who also financed his many massacres with church property, often falsely called secularization by researchers, he lived on as a church robber who had fallen prey to the devil. In reality, Charles Cartel was anything but hostile to the church or the clergy, as his promotion of such prominent propagandists of Christianity as Pirmin, Willibrord or Boniface, to whom we are now turning, shows."

II. KAPITEL

ST. BONIFATIUS, "APOSTLE OF THE GERMANS" AND ROME

-T1ie Grcatest Englixhman -. Title of an anthology by Timorhr Reuter'

-He was a thoroughly fine, one might almost say delicate, not stormy or forceful. A tyrant of a very pure, high idealism - Wilhelm Nmiss'

• Furthermore, every historian - even the athcist - should a d m i t that ... ßonifatius opened the door for us, that through him the frontier of Europe moved further north.
Eix Glciches applies from the Saxon Wars of Charlemagne.
K. König/K. w'i'tc'

-Bonifstius ... . who had a greater impact on the history of Europe than any Englishman after him ,, . not just a minister, but a statesman and a n administrator.
and before aĬlcm cin Dicn<r of the r6niic order--
Christopher Dawson'

-The splendor of the Mi'te)altcr is based to a large extent on the **on his work** ...- The Catholic **theologian** Joseph Lo'tz'

Around 68o, probably at the age of seven, the Anglo-Saxon Wynfreth {Winfrid), later called Boniface in Rome, was sent to a monastery by his father as a puer oblatus. -But in the monastery, writes a German scholar today, the boy who had been handed over to him without a will grew into a man of his own will {Schramm). In a monastery of all places! A man of his own will? As if Boniface had not been enslaved to Rome for so long!

-day and night-, claims the Priescer Willibald in his in the
According to the Schwulstvita written in Mainz in the late 8th century, his hero pursued "scientific studies" in the monastery in order to attain eternal bliss. And in the spring of 7*
he traveled with all his knowledge to the Frieten, where he could freely
was allowed to preach. However, since the military power of the Frisians was absent and he lacked political support, he was without any success and once again left -the barren land of the Frisians …, the dry shores still starving of the Tzu of heavenly fertilization- (Vita Bonifatii).

Soon, however, Boniface embarked on a new propagandistic peregrinatio, but now with a "missionary mandate" from Rome. Pope Gregory I- i7*JW3-) commissioned him ann i y. Mltl 7*q at
"to all peoples caught up in the error of primitive faith ... the
To exercise service in the kingdom of God". To explore, as biographer Willibald poesie- gdüngt again, -whether the uncultivated fields of their hearts could be plowed by the plowshare of the Gospel-. And Bnnifatius did this -with a vast amount of relics - and -like a clever bee flying through the fields in its own way, gently humming its wings as it plowed the fields.

'The honeycomb flutters around the fragrant herbs and, with its prickly proboscis, senses where the honey-rich sweetness of the nectar is hidden.

BEFREIUNC VOld - A LLEM UN FLAT HESSEN, JHÜR ING ERN AND GROWTH - ANd ETHE BLOODVE AG l ESSEN

The honey-rich sweetness of the nectar was now sought by -'the greatest Englishman at the express wish of the Pope from the Hessians and Thuringians. The Hessians were still quite pagan, the Thuringians - where the Frankish conquerors probably built the first churches in their castles - had become partly pagan again due to Saxon invasions and pagan reactions. However, Boniface, despite his honey-sweet teachings, quickly failed here too, partly due to Christian bishops and priests and partly due to a lack of military support.

Still7*9 --g he left Thuringia and went - via death of the Frisian Duke Radbod - "filled with high joys" (Visa Bonifatii) - to7** I2ach Friesland, where he placed himself under the authority of the aged Mis- sionary Willibrord, incidentally, like himself, -Oblate-, that is, already mentally genotzüchtigr as an infant.

Supported by the Frankish high nobility and Frankish armed forces, Willibrord had been propagating his findings since 69o among the West Frisians, who had been defeated by Pippin II, and, briefly and unsuccessfully, among the Danes and Saxons (p. aqJ). Apparently with little inclination to martyrdom, he fled from Radbod and only returned after his death. Only the victorious campaigns of Charles Martell's 7- -rtd yiO (also probably already wiedC* 7>> find 7^') against the Saxons made Christianization possible in the first place.

rurigsbeginn, ihrr Befreiung von den -Damonen-, -vom lrr- wahn" und "teu bischen Trug- {a diabolica fraude: Gregor II.). Invoking the Holy Trinity, Willibrord destroyed -idols", desecrated and ruined Frisian shrines, killed sacred animals for the Frisians, worked astonishing mira-

'The honeycomb flutters around the fragrant herbs and, with its prickly proboscis, senses where the honey-rich sweetness of the nectar is hidden.

BEFREIUNC VOld - A LLEM UN FLAT HESSEN, JHÜR ING ERN AND GROWTH - ANd ETHE BLOODVE AG l ESSEN

The honey-rich sweetness of the nectar was now sought by -'the greatest Englishman at the express wish of the Pope from the Hessians and Thuringians. The Hessians were still quite pagan, the Thuringians - where the Frankish conquerors probably built the first churches in their castles - had become partly pagan again due to Saxon invasions and pagan reactions. However, Boniface, despite his honey-sweet teachings, quickly failed here too, partly due to Christian bishops and priests and partly due to a lack of military support.

Still7*9 --g he left Thuringia and went - via death of the Frisian Duke Radbod - "filled with high joys" (Visa Bonifatii) - to7** I2ach Friesland, where he placed himself under the authority of the aged Mis- sionary Willibrord, incidentally, like himself, -Oblate-, that is, already mentally genotzüchtigr as an infant.

Supported by the Frankish high nobility and Frankish armed forces, Willibrord had been propagating his findings since 69o among the West Frisians, who had been defeated by Pippin II, and, briefly and unsuccessfully, among the Danes and Saxons (p. aqJ). Apparently with little inclination to martyrdom, he fled from Radbod and only returned after his death. Only the victorious campaigns of Charles Martell's 7- -rtd yiO (also probably already wiedC* 7>> find 7^') against the Saxons made Christianization possible in the first place.

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kel. In short, in conjunction with the military leaders Pippin and Charles Martel, he weeded out "the weeds of unbelief",
•to "renew by baptism" this people, which had only a short time ago been thrown down by force of arms, and to immediately spread the game light of the Gospel (Alcuin).

7•• Boniface separated from Willibrord for reasons unknown to us. He had refused to be consecrated bishop by Willibrord and returned to the Hessian-Rhenish monastery.
border region, where he founded a small monastery.
of the Amöneburg.

Traces of Christianity before Boniface can only be found in central and northern Hesse on large castles or in their immediate vicinity. Thus7•• was also Amöne-
burg, the high Franconian fortress to the east of Marburg,
Boniface's first missionary station, which, like. 7< , Hammelburg Castle on the Saaĺe was already to serve as Willibrord's base for the missionary work in Thuringia. Other monastery foundations, always also political bases, which served the Franconian
The monastcria Fritzlar in Hesse, near the mighty Franconian fortress of Büraburg, was the first to carry the Franconian influence far into Thuringia,
Ohrdruf near Gotha and above all744 the monastery in the Buchenwald: Fulda.
nigsgut within a radius of four miles, whereby he also induced the adjoining greats to surrender their property in the vicinity to the (soon to be too) monks.

Fråŋkische Burgpĺätzc were also made into bishop's castles. Wü rzburg (casrelłum Wirzaburg); Büraburg near Fritzlar (oppidum Buraburg), one of the largest early medieval German castles, where BOfiifßtİUS 174a) established the Hessian bishopric of Büraburg; and - later abandoned as too endangered - Erfurt (locus Erphesfurt), already a pagan building site in earlier times.

After his initial successes, Gregory 11th still had the Boniface in his hands.
mat and consecrated herl Atm 3O. He was consecrated as a missionary bishop (without a permanent seat) on November 3,7•• . In doing so, he was sworn to Rome, not only vowing to serve the pope at least once a year.

He was ordered to be obedient to everything, but also "not to hold any communion with the bishops who lived against the old statutes of the Holy Fathers". He also received a letter of recommendation to Charles Martel, who had emerged victorious from difficult battles.

Obviously, the Pope did not recognize the constitutional
The letter was written to Charles, who was legitimized as ruler, but avoided naming the jurisdiction in legal terms, although he did demand support. It is possible, however, that this letter written to -Duke- Charles, the -Domino glorioso filio Karolo duci" was forged. In any case, the House Emperor, who wanted a strong episcopal church to support the power of the state, expressly took BonifatiuS 7-3 into his care, -so that no one may do anything detrimental or harmful against him, but that he should always live under our protection and umbrella, unchallenged and safe. On the other hand, Charlemagne's military campaigns benefited Boniface, as did Charlemagne's gifts to the church in injustice and the monastery of Ech- ternach, this Catholic propaganda base that soon grew ever larger, stretching as far as the Meuse, Schulde and the mouths of the Rhine.

Gregory II had also given the "Apostle of the Germans"7 za a missionary mandate to the Saxons. They had been7 8 driven back from the Lower Rhine by Charles and defeated.
but remained almost entirely loyal to the old faith - one of those Germanic tribes east of the Rhine that the PapSt saw as "brute animals" wandering around and in whose deceptive deities he naturally saw "devils (demones)".

The planned "conversion" of the Saxons with mass baptisms only took place after Charlemagne's campaign••• 73 ; long and carefully prepared, it was carried out in close cooperation with the clergy
takes place. Gregory III (73 74*), who once called the Franconian, who waged war almost year after year, the beloved son of St. Peter, clearly interpreted this himself in a letter dated xq. October7i9 •• to Boniface: -You have given us knowledge of the peoples
Germania, w h i c h God liberated from the power of the pagans,
by passing on a hundred thousand souls through your and the Franconian

The number of the Holy Father Karl Bemühen (tuo conamine et Carli principis Franco- rum) united in the bosom of Holy Mother Church." The figure is certainly exaggerated: But the Saxons were only "liberated from the power of the pagans" by Charles Martel's military campaign t75)
-with terrible bloodshed- (£redegarii Continuatio-
nes). This was followed by mass baptisms of the Saxons. Their Christianization took place at that time - in the closest connection to the military-political organization - t5teinbach); it is probably even -the largest attempt at a Saxon mission before the age of Charlemagne" (Schieffer).

Karl Marsch was not very religious, but for political reasons the spread of Christianity in the East.
-highest interest" (Buchner). And there is no doubt that Boniface owed everything to the victorious weapons and the personal protection of Karl Martcll (Zwölfer) - a targeted cooperation of internal expansion and military protection measures by the state and overarching organization by the Frankish church {Wand).

Already 7'8, as mentioned. 7* . 7**. 7-4 Charles had fought the Saxons. He repeatedly defeated Frisian and Saxon insurrections.

and it was only from such bloody acts of violence that the -Conversion", the liberation, according to Boniface, from "all the filth of the heathen". Gregory III attributed the success of the mission as much to Charles Martel as to Boniface. And the latter himself confessed to the English bishop Daniel of Winchester: -Without the protection of the Prince of the Franks [sine patrocinio principis Francorum] I can neither lead the people of the Church nor protect the priests and clergy, the monks and the divines, nor without his mandate (mandato) and the fear of him, prevent pagan customs and the abominations of idolatry in Germania." It is no coincidence that Boniface, -servant of the servants of God'-, sends King Aeihelbald of Mercier 74s qS auBer
a hawk and two falcons also -two shields and two
Lances°.'

HOWEVER, HEALTHY N ONNES AND A "SO EFFICIENT5 BUSINESS*

Incidentally, the saint bestows gifts on His Majesty, although this king (not the only Christian regent) whores himself out t o the devil, and this - what is even worse ... especially with holy nuns and consecrated virgins in the monasteries". King Osred of Northumbria indulges in the same passion, and also - there must be something special about them! - with consecrated virgins and nuns. Boniface also sees "fornication" at work in the cells of the monasteries, and he even sees the "holy nuns" often killing their "children conceived in evil ... often kill a large proportion of them ... [-protect the germinating life!-] and fill hell with poor souls".

The Apostle writes to Bishop Cudberht that the nuns, who, as is well known, open up outpatient prostitution in Europe, along with other Christian sisters, 'for the most part p e r i s h' during their pilgrimages to Rome. For there are

-There are very few towns in Lombardy, in France or in Gaul where there is not an adulteress or harlot from the tribe of the Angles. But this is a nuisance and a disgrace to your whole church, for the saint suffers from the fact that the Angles do not take lawful marriages, but, contrary to all divine order, defile and confuse everything in a shameful way through debauchery and adultery, after the manner of neighing stallions or braying donkeys. But through fornication, through frenzied sinful lust, one becomes, Boniface once remarked, -in the end neither strong in a worldly war (in bello saeculari fortem) nor steadfast in faith.'°

After all, the Christian clergy repeatedly p r a i s e d the - correct - faith as an indispensable prerequisite for success in arms, for glory in war! There was nothing to be gained from unchastity and "heresy". "For you have - writes Pope Zacharias at the end of October74s to all bishops, bishops, dukes,

Counts, in general -all God-fearing people who live in Gaul and in the provinces of the Franks- -as a result of your sins you have had false and misguided priests until today, which is why all pagan peoples were superior to you in battle ...- But once the Franks have -chaste priests-, the Pope affirms, they will be -obedient in everything to Brother Boniface-, yes, then -no nation will stand before your face, but all pagan nations will collapse before your eyes and you will be victorious-. And on top of that, he generously promises -eternal life-."

Back to the horny hinges. Because, to be fair, not everything was contrary to all -divine order- there and "after Gc- like neighing stallions or in the manner of screaming Eset-. Oh no. There were, let us not forget, quite different, quite Christian foreheads from Britannia.

For example, the letter from one of Boniface's pupils, the pious virgin Egburg, who is obviously suffering from the separation, perhaps even from - certainly not objectionable - withdrawal symptoms, sounds very chaste and pure, perhaps. in any case, Egburg prefers the -lovely- Boniface (mi amande), as she openly confesses to him in a very Christian way, to -almost all persons of the male sex in heartfelt love-. All the more she laments -having tasted the bond of your love only through the inner man-. A cause for complaint, indeed. But -this taste sticks like something sweet as honey-. She only wants

-Always wrap a sister's arms around your neck". But on the other hand: -believe me, God is my witness that I embrace you with the greatest love" {summo complector amo- re). Not enough: no sailor who is chased by the storm longs so much for the harbor, no arid field longs so much for rain … as I would like to enjoy the sight of you". But, alas, as it is written: Love for a person brings about pain". And so she, the poorest, the wicked, has only ever -in despair . . under the pressure of my sins and under the burden of numerous transgressions ... lying before the feet of Your highness, from the innermost depths of the

I have cried out to you from the ends of the earth, O most blessed Lord …-"

The beatissimus do- minus drew others from the Angle tribe closer to him. He appointed his relative Leoba, who was a full human age younger, as abbess in Tauberbischofs- heim; a relative of Leoba's, Thecla, as abbess in Kitzin- gen and Ochsenfiiri am Main. But all, of course, only for the sake of the great cause, the all-German mission, because, as Gregory III, when he made the -apostle of the Germans- (recte: Rome) archbishop on a renewed trip to Rome• 73s , wrote in the
expressly noted in this context, "so profitable
the business (talis commercii lucro). With the whole church
the Pope therefore applauds the Apostcl.

Of course, "business" does not mean the little bit of "silver and gold" (argenti et auri tantillum) that Boniface occasionally sends to the Holy Father, but the conversion from paganism and misbelief to the knowledge of true faith. From Hesse to Friesland, he -more conqueror than convert- destroys the pagan places of worship everywhere and builds Christian churches on their ruins, with their stone and wood. He smashes the images of t h e gods Stuffo, Reto, Bil, Astarot, etc. He overthrows the altars, cuts down the sacred trees in Hesse, probably without any personal danger, since he is under the direct protection of the Frankish fortress Büraburg, the Donareiche near Geismar, the tribal shrine, and erects St. Peter, a chapel, -his first victory monument- (Ha)1er) from its wood. But Boniface lived to see thirty churches and chapels in Thuringia destroyed again.

However, the apostle of Rome not only fought against paganism, but at least as much, and probably even more, against Christianity, which did not belong to Rome, as with the Bavarians and Alemanni: the second and shorter, yet more significant phase of his activity.'*

THE "ÜFAFFENWINKEL IS CREATED

There are (almost) no reliable sources about the historical beginnings of the Bavarian tribe, its origins, the time of tribal formation, the c o m p o s i t i o n of the 8aibari, Baiovarii, Baioarii and their early religious relationships. Unlike the Goths, Lombards and Franks, the Bavarians initially had no historians. Written evidence from their own kingdom is only available around a quarter of a millennium after they conquered the land. Their earliest mentions by name date back to the middle of the 6th century.

It is also not certain where the Bavarians come from. Perhaps, a formative core, from Bohemia, as their name suggests: the men from the land of Baia, the "people from Bo)ohaim", documented since around yyo, when the first immigrants from Bohemia settled mainly in the later royal seat of Regensburg. But perhaps the Baiovarii were Celts, a Celto-Romanic-Germanic mixed people. Perhaps they were descended from the Marcomanni, the Alemanni. All of them and more, Thuringians, Hermundurians, Huns, may have merged with them, including the Alpine Romans, who are currently often emphasized as living in Rdtien and Noricum. In any case, the Bavarian tribe only formed during and after the (presumably peaceful) occupation of the country in the early 6th century, east of the Alemanni, between Enns and Lech, Danube and Alps. And two centuries later, everything there is already full of Klöeters, the -Pfatfen- winkel- still today. The Bavarians had probably already come under Frankish sovereignty through King Theudebert I (533*5 8) (p. qy ff.).

Just as ethnogenetically we have to rely on assumptions and combinations, we also know little about the original religion of the Bavarians. Christianity may have penetrated the later terra Bavariae, Noricum and Rätten, through traders and soldiers as early as Roman times. However, if a church organization already (probably) existed there at that time, it disappeared after the Roman soldiers and

State authorities almost completely - with the sole exception of Chur. The Christian church, for centuries a rigidly pacifist organization, was able to grow against the state, but then only with the state, in close ties to the secular apparatus, could it keep itself alive by force.

It is significant that here, too, the powerful converted to Christianity first. The ducal dynasty was Catholic from the very beginning. And as usual, it was probably the nobility who turned to Christianity first for political reasons, i.e. for power and prestige. The people, the majority of whom were still pagan in the eighth century, only became Christianized (in their masses) in the course of the7. century.

But perhaps Irish monks and preachers had already
from Byzanx partially "converted" the Bavarians. Perhaps at least some of them were Arians, for which there is plenty of evidence - and, of course, disputes; not least because the oldest Bavarians were much more likely to be considered pagans than
-heretics. Schismatics (as a result of the three-chapter dispute) were There is certainly one among them, as Queen Theudelinde shows.

THE BEGINNING ¥*O*> END OF THE AGILOLFINGER OR Bzvx "x DEVICE iNS ROMANx Nx

The Bavarians were ruled by the Agilolfing dynasty from the earliest times. Their tribal origins are just as uncertain as the beginning and form of their rule.

End: 7 (- 4 z ff.). Frankish descent is attested several times; however, one has also considered the Burgundians, the Lombards, with whom they maintained close relations. The Lex Baiuvariorum, recorded in the early 8th century, which is attributed to
first deals with the affairs of the clergy, then of the duke, and finally of the people: -The duke, however, who presides over the people, was always from the Agilolfing dynasty and must always be so.

The first documented Bavarian duke from the Agilolfing family is Garibald I (ca, şşo-yqo). He sought to secure himself through political and military ties to the Lombards via the Frariken. Even though he was forced to marry the Lombard princess Waldarada, Chlotar I's ousted Gatiiti, he gave one daughter to the Lombard duke Ewin of Trent, and another, Theu- delinde, to the Lombard king Authari, after he had failed to reach an agreement with the Franks. The latter, however, who had fought the Lombards in the seventies and eighties, made peace the following year after a less successful campaign against them (p. i 3o f.) and installed Jqz Tassilo I in Bavaria."

Now people began to focus more on the Franks again. However, the news from Bavaria petered out, and the Frankish sources were also completely silent about the 5tamrn between around ö3o and 68o. He gradually detached himself more and more from the Frankish Empire - as did others who did not necessarily want to live under the Franconian yoke, such as the Saxons, Thuringians, Alemanni or the Basques who had once immigrated to Aquitaine. In Bavaria, however, Pippin the Middle once again pushed for a stronger influence through the Christian mission, which completely eradicated the old paganism. And when Duke Theodo strove for an independent Bavarian kingdom around 7iS, Charles Marr- 7*s. finally intervened under Theodo's son. Grimoald, he ravages the land, makes great spoils and leads Griinoald's wife init away, the Duchess Pilitrud, and his niece 5wanahilr, the future mother of his son Grifo, who is imprisoned and his mother Swanahilt is sent to the ChelÍes monastery (p. 36g).

And at7• , the Franconian led another campaign against the rebellious Bavarians, whereby Grimoald, then residing in Freising, may have succumbed to an assassination, or at least died *brutally* at the hands of *his enemies.* At the end of the thirties, however, when

After Charles had fought *the* Arabs in southern France, Duke Odiło, whom he had appointed himself, once again confronted the enemy. However, since Charlemagne's wars with

Baynn 8as **ncue BnumEiXstžn to cnsm köXìkhen Sœn-**point fränkischcr Machr."

Boniface visited Bavaria for the first time on his journey from Rome
to Thuringia, but longer there73 . vieÍleicht also "worked" several times in the two following years, especially against an otherwise not further known Eremwulf, a Schismatician, immersed in heretical delusion. Of course, he was condemned, expelled, the people were freed from the "false doctrine" that served idolatry.

During his third and last stay in Rome• 738, Bo- nífatius was ordered to reorganize the **church** in Bavaria and Alemannia}. Gregory III - again promising -the hundredfold- and -eternal life- - called all the Frdnkischeø bishops dear to him, all the venerable priests and God-fearing
tigen Ãbrc on: -assign him helpers from your sheepfold" ex vestro ovile) - a popular image. Zacharias' successor also speaks of "uriserer Gemeinschaft in einem Schaf- start"; and Cs CrlffŁ ja ałjch zu."

However, Bavaria was to become a regional church entirely dependent on Rome two decades earlier and, of course, a papal protective power beyond the Alps. Duke Theodo was the first of the "Swiss tribe" to rush to Rome - with the desire to pray - (I-iber Pontiñcalis). People only ever go on pilgrimage to Rome to pray. Of course it bears fruit. Gregory II, for example, issued the following on iy. MH'7* -'ne lnstruc-
tion for the construction of properties and bcfahl the creation of cine of a Bavarian regional church in agreement with the Prince of Bavaria. Each sought his own advantage: the duke sought to free his country from Frankish influence, the pope a church in which he, and only he, set the tone, which is why the Syrian priests were also to be tested for their orthodoxy, i.e. their allegiance to Rome."

But at that time, the papal wishes obviously came to little or nothing. Thus a new and now successful attempt was made under Gregory II t73*U4*) with Boniface. Once again, the establishment of a Bavarian ecclesiastical province within the

agreement with the Bavarian duke, but not with the Frankish Hausmeier. For Odilo was naturally concerned with his independence. And this was (indirectly) directed against Charles Martel. He did not support a bishopric organization for the Frankish Empire in any way (Reindel). For this reason, the inclusion of the Swabian duchy, Alemannia, in the Boniface reform, as intended by Rome, could not be realized. The influence of the Frankish state and the Frankish church was already too great here."

After his third trip to Rome, Boniface39. divided Bavaria into four parts, in agreement with Duke Odilo and Gregory Ill, following the Roman organizational plan of yiă.
bishoprics. Significantly, he leaned on the already existing ruling centers: Regensburg, Salzburg, Freising and Passau. Only in Passau did he leave Bishop Vivilo, who had been consecrated by the Pope. He expelled the other bishops, "the destroyers of the churches and the corrupters of the people" (Vita Bonifarii), and appointed three others: Gaubald for Regensburg, John for Salzburg and Eremberr for Freising."

"CONTINUE THE STRUGGLE, DEAREST ... -

Bavaria, where Boniface, after his relationship with Charles Martel had apparently cooled down w**. 73a reformed the church with the help of Duke Odilo, had already been Christianized earlier, but not Romanized. For here and in Austria, after
Moravia, the Iroschotrian monastic church, which was mostly active in the7. and 8th centuries, had led its -walking for Christ- (per- egrinare pro Christo) . Wder with the help of the sword
was converted through mass baptisms. It was not the bishop's see that was the actual center of attention, but the monastery, which disregarded the organized hierarchy, which often led to conflicts.

Still the most likely iin order of the Hausmeier

Pippin743 *The canonical statutes of the lex Baiuvariorum, written by monks from the monastery of Niederalteich, reveal no trace of Roman influence. And even then, the

The eastern Bavarian bishoprics of Salzburg and Passau were **occupied by** two **new monastic bishops, despite Rome's oppression.** In a cosmography, Bishop Virgil of Salzburg mocked

i7 7 741• a confidant of Pippin, at whose court he stayed for a time, led the Bonifatians. zz years the priestbt from the

St. Peter's Monastery from his diocese before he himself was consecrated bishop.

5o the Roman and the Iro-Scottish missionary creeds, -the first -Los-von-Rom movement- (Behn), now clashed in Bavaria - with all addiction- (Schieffer). Here and in Thuringia, however, Boniface eradicated this old, non-violent Christianity as far as possible at the instigation of Gregory II. He tried to strip the communities of the successors of these clergymen, snatched them away and ruthlessly forced them under the papal yoke with the help of state power. "For I have", he reports, "the greatest battles with false priests and hypocrites (hypocritas) who resist God and ruin themselves, who seduce the people with many annoyances and various heresies … – When he comes to court to ask for help, Boniface repeatedly complains, he cannot avoid contact with the "false priests and hypocrites".

However, the Papstadlarus also and especially endangers the Franconian

The Bavarian clergy, who had maintained their independence **from** Rome and tended to avoid, if not fight against, its reforms. Thus, around yj8, Gregory 111 urged the bishops of Bavaria and Swabia to obey his husband and emphasized: "and you should abandon the pagan customs and teachings of wandering Britons or false heretical priests and all defilements".

and prevent and destroy". And in za. Juri'744 Pope Zacharias writes to Boniface about certain clergymen,

-false Christians-, -servants and forerunners of the Antichrist-: - You

have done well that you have done them according to aecclesiasticam regulam vcr-

dammed and sent to prison - (dampnavit et in
custodiam misit). Or like Zechariah, who finds no end to
-The devil's servants and not Christ's servants", -the swindlers, vagrants, adulterers, murderers, lechers, abusers", against the false, abrupt, murderous and lewd Frisians-, on Hz. October74s
='t typically pfäf- fischer tongue beat Bonifatius anrcizt: -May your holy brotherhood be unceasingly devoted to prayer ... and after
Production of spiritual hoes and eradication of the weeds, remove them for burning."

Boniface, who met with bitter opposition from many free people. derstand (Epperlein), who acted rudely, ruthlessly and always with a large entourage, was as obedient to Rome as one c o u l d wish, more pontifical than the Pope. He never says why; he simply is; he had been indoctrinated that way. He was indeed - the heir of the Roman Church in England" (Lortz). tlwhile he stepped downwards, he served upwards, running himself on and on, embarrassingly scrupulous in matters of faith and plagued by the most petty formalism.
-teach", just as he was used to doing from an early age."

The "Apostle of the Oetites" is so unsure of his faith and so overwhelmed by his own sinfulness throughout his life that he constantly sends formal questionnaires to Rome,
-as if we were on our knees at your feet- to have the last questions of conscience answered, and of course also so that - the rapacious wolves (lupi rapaces) perish overwhelmed. For example, Boniface, the -fighter in the race of the spirit- (Vita Bonifatii), asks what to do with animals suspected of being rabid. He asks: 1st it is allowed to eat sacrificial meat, was the cross beaten over it? How many crosses must be made at the mass? Are several chalices allowed or just one? Is it allowed to eat jackdaws, crows, storks? Meat from wild horses or domestic horses? What about bacon? Are nuns allowed to w a s h each other's feet? etc. etc.

On ¢. November y5 i Pope Zacharias replies to him: -To-

Next you ask about birds, that is, jackdaws, crows and storks. Christians should completely abstain from eating them. And they should be even more careful not to eat beavers, hares and wild horses." The Holy Father advises uncooked bacon - only after the Easter feast. Indeed, BoNifatius did not even know what was - necessary- for baptism. (After all, according to Pope Zacharias, it was even valid if a priest administered it out of ignorance, as happened, with the formula: -'I baptize you in the name of fatherland and daughter and of the Holy Spirit, in nomine patria et filia et spiritus sancti. tlnd when a free man tells the -apostle of the Germans- that baptism is superfluous, he asks for it. Even the church fee unsettles him, but he should baptize without hesitation, Zacharias instructs him,

-to collect a solidus from every court. And when he even wants to know whether the Wends - for him -the hdfilichest and least of the people - also have to pay interest, Rome replies brusquely that it goes without saying. Because as interest payers, they know -that this country has a master".[2 ']

Gregory II, who on zz. November 7-ö the question of his

The breastfeeding of the Apostle tells the state of our churches, for example: Did parents breastfeed their sons or daughters at an early age?

-(inrer septa monasrerii), they must under no circumstances leave and marry later. -We avoid this because it is a sin to allow children who have been consecrated to God by their parents to take the reins of lust.

What barbarism lies behind this ancy/or¢. Or hincer dic- ser: - You also raised the question, when a contagious disease or a death has struck a church or a toilet, whether those not yet affected should flee the place to avoid the danger. This seems quite foolish, because no one is able to escape the hand of Gortes.- Time-bound? Oh, what tragedies these temporalities - century after century - have conjured up! How many destinies ruined forever!

Bound by time? But does the Pope not expressly say that he is telling you - not from us {non quasi ex nobis) how you should hold it, but thanks to him who

opens the mouth of the mute and makes the tongues of the children eloquent " "

Is that also time-bound? Yes, it is.

The First and Second World Wars, the gas chambers, the atomic bombs on Japan, the Vietnam massacre and other great deeds of our proud secularism can later, whenever it pleases, be described as time-bound, and rightly so. Just like later brutalisms later again. Ad infinitum. *Everything is time-bound! It is* therefore no coincidence that this notion, which is so often overused because everything is historically "understandable", morally everything

-The excuse-making phrase has become the favorite vocabulary of ordained conformists or morons (often both) and has finally been consigned to the trash heap of worn-out apologist tics. It does not always, but in common practice it almost always has the function of belittling, exonerating and whitewashing. Theologians and historians do not need to call church and state crimes, church and state criminals criminals thanks to all the "time-bound".

The clergy (not only) of the German tribes were in his time as they would be, with minor restrictions, for many centuries to come: often brutal, ignorant, bewitched. Boniface found clerics and bishops in the Frankish kingdom who

-who commit worse offenses than the laity; -who do not abstain from fornication and forbidden marriages and do not keep their hands clean from human blood-¡ -who from their youth always live in adultery, always in fornication and in every filthiness"; a nch -some bishops, the drunkards

and brawlers or hunters and people who fight armed in the army and who bled people, whether pagans or Christians". Bishop Gewilip of Mainz took vengeance on his father's Saxon murderer with his own hand during a meeting on an island in the Weser. There were also those who served both sides, held Christian services, but at the same time offered sacrifices to Wotan, "sacrificing bulls and goats to the heathen brutes and eating them", which is unlikely to have harmed either Christ or Wotan. The pseudo-priests,

They were heretics, false prophets, full of arrogance, supposedly bishops and presbyters, but not consecrated by any Catholic bishop. They are apostate, extremely godless. They deceive the people, he says, and, returning from Rome, invoke the **pope;** terrible vagabonds, adulterers, murderers, wanton sacrilegious hypocrites. They are addicted to drink and strcit, shorn slaves, runaways from their masters, servants of the devil who transform themselves into servants of Christ. They live **as they please.**

The synods had ceased completely since *693.* -The episcopal fällt . . .[25]
see, writes Boniface, -is largely left to greedy laymen and lewd clerics for the purpose of sexual abuse." And it was not without reason that Zacharias ann i. A Fl)743 admonished the chief shepherds in Büraburg, Würzburg and (perhaps) Erfurt - three dioceses that Boniface was only able to establish thanks to the help of the local emperor Karlmann: -You shall not submit to one of the
to invade other parishes or to deprive you of churches." In Reims, the bishop destroyed the houses of his own clergy and squandered them. It was similar in other cities. The priests quarreled with their diocesan clergy and harshly oppressed them under the silliest pretexts. Bishops often quarreled with their canons, for example, robbing their castles, farms and benefices, while canons, conversely, fought **against** bishops (p. z65 If.).

Other chief shepherds attacked the monasteries in order to subjugate them, especially economically. For example, Madelgarius of Laon tried, albeit in vain, to make a nunnery profitable. Even Boniface's favorite disciples competed with each other for years, Bishop Lul of Mainz with Abbot Sturmi of Fulda, who was banished for three years and then rehabilitated. Dagcgen, Abbot Otmar of St. Gall perished as a prisoner on the small Rhine island of Stein in a dispute with Bishop Sidonius of Constance. Later, Hadriaft I- (y7z-y95) reported on the incessant battles between Lombard prelates over their diocesan borders. And Pope Hadrian himself

wrestled with Archbishop Leo of Ravenna nm a whole series of cities in the Po Valley and on the Adriatic. And even later, around 8oo, the Patriarch Paulinus of Aquileia complained that the bishops were squandering the church's wealth on wars and luxury, that they were rapacious and warlike, inciting and stirring up those who shed blood and committed many crimes.'-.

A certain Aldcbert of lower origin from Neustria, who taught how useless confessions, pilgrimages to Rome, church consecrations to

Honor of the Apostcl, the martyrs scien, lieu Bofiifatitl5744 *tlf the Synod of boissons condemn all its crosses and chapels (oratoriola) at springs and in fields. For his miracles, for which people ran after him, he had done - fraudulently - (false fiebant) ¡ he had, according to Pope Zacharias at the Roman Synod of 74s, - wholly become ... become truthful". The Irish itinerant bishop Clemens, an opponent of celibacy and father of a family, was also condemned at the time and, like Aldebert, was deposed and imprisoned - in collusion with the princes of the Franks. And of course Pope Zacharias saw -the false and apostate bishops- of Rorht condemned as servants of Satan, as forerunners of Anrichrist, stripped of their amrc and their -'äufierst gottlose Leh-re- unmasked. -We declare all this to be abominable and despicable." Without much success, the state was called upon to intervene when they escaped from the monastery dungeon. (According to later tradition, however, Aldebert was killed by swineherds during his escape to Fulda). -Continue the fight, beloved, act manfully and remain vigilant in the service of Christ … – wrote the Pope.

Now, of course, he was well-disposed towards Pope Boniface, and not without good reason. After all, he had reorganized the Frankish imperial church, which was almost completely free from Rome, according to the Roman model, provided Rome with the leadership and prepared the alliance between the papacy and the Frankish empire, which was to be so successful for Europe that it led to papal world power, to the -glory of the Middle Ages- (Loriz).

-Master builder of the West" (5emmler)."

BLUTICER WAR FOR B vx AND PiiPSTLY lNKELZUGS

At the Roman court, where he had many wealthy friends, Boniface was accommodated in every respect, he was showered with honors, did not want to see anyone else at his side, neither, as he himself asked, a second Lcgate nor a successor during his lifetime - -all you have done best and according to the ecclesiastical statutes {omnia optime et canonice)-, praised him again Zacharias.

Of course, the Pope had particular reason to flatter Boniface. After all, he had been on Boniface's tail when the Dukes of Aquitaine had seized power after the death of Charles Martel, Swabia and Bavaria• 43 t against Charlemagne's sons Charles and Pippin. Frankish sword and economic aid had made Boniface's missionary work possible in the first place. The Pope, however, wanted to remain in league with the Roman Empire. Odilo, the head of the anti-Frankish league, who sought to separate Bavaria from the empire, he also wanted the Bavarian regional church to be independent of the imperial church and directly subordinate to Rome. And since he considered the Frankish cause to be lost, he immediately switched to the supposedly stronger camp, sent his own {second) lcgatcn, the presbyter Sergius, and strongly supported Bavarian scparatism against the two house emperors.

But Charlemagne and Pippin defeated the Aquitanians. They devastated all of Alemannicn as far as the Danube and lay opposite the Bavarians on the Lech for five days. Before the battle, the papal legate commanded Pippin to withdraw in the name of St. Peter and to declare supremacy. In vain. And although Alemannic, Saxon and Slavic troops reinforced the Bavarians, Odilo (whom Pippin had married to his sister Hil- mnd shortly beforehand) was defeated by a Frankish flank and rear attack, apparently an insidious nocturnal raid on the sleeping Bavarian army, and thrown back as far as the Inn. "Duke Odilo barely escaped with a few

in ignominious flight across the Inn-Flu8- (Annales Mettenses priores).

The pope, however, quickly swung back to the other side. He did nothing to appease the enraged Boniface. His legate had misrepresented everything, he claimed, and now ordered Boniface not only to "reform Bavaria, but the entire Gallic land in our stead". And he himself, -of rare kindness of heart-, yes, even his enemies -the demonstrating the "tenderest love" (Donin),745 ordered the bishops, dukes and counts of Franconia to come together annually for a 7-ode, so that, as soon as something *opponentis'::bes* should arise, it would be eradicated with *stump[and* $tiel- (radicitus amputecur).

Together with the papal legate Sergius, the first Regensburg bishop Gawibald, who stood by Odilo, was also presented as a prisoner of Pippin, who eventually placed two of his own confidants, the two Iro-Scottish monks Virgilius and Sidonius, in the bishoprics of Salzburg and Passau. This was, of course, contrary to the efforts of Boniface and Pope Zacharias, who in a letter dated Sta' 748 threatened the two educated monks with a summons to Rome because they held the heretical view of the spherical shape of the earth because they denied that there was another world and other people under the earth as well as a sun and a moon … – Two years earlier, the Pope had called the two of them "religious men" (religiosi viri). Now, however, he calls for a council against Virgil's perverse and sinful teachings - and expels him from the church after taking away his priestly dignity. With the Bible he calls the &idcn unwise, foolish, godless because of a fact already known for a millennium (III 36q f.), but is also again in a lenient mood, practicing forbearance: -whoever has the lesser understanding thinks of nothing-, he comforts, almost excuses and urges Boniface: "admonish, implore, refute …-, perhaps they will still get - from error to the way of truth-."

Isn't it hard not to write satire?

As early as 74, six years after the destruction of the Bavarian army, Pippin had once again invaded the land between the Lech, Danube and Inn rivers with a large contingent. The Bavarians fled across the Inn, perhaps **fearing** deportation or massacre. But after the bloodbaths at z43 d m Lech and74* near Canstatt, they quickly gave in,
and so Pippin returned, like the sequels of Fredegar
under Christ's leadership, returned happily and in great triumph to the Frankish kingdom.

Odilo had died at the time and Pippin appointed his eight-year-old son TäSSilo II- t74U788), the last Agilolfinger, as Hefzog von Bayern 7i7. 't 16 years of age, he had to help his uncle King Pippin and his sons in Com.
piegne took the vassal oath on the relics of several named Frankish imperial saints. But7*3, when the opportunity to gain independence seemed favorable,
Tassilo departed from Pippin's army due to illness, without waiting for permission. He found support from the Lombard king Desiderius (whose daughter Luitperga he married), but not from Pope Paul. The
After the bloody experience of ^74 3, the Franks' "elaborate plan of annihilation" (Störmer) against Bay-
with the clearly stronger one.'°

Boniface's popularity steadily declined in Bavaria, and not only there. The clerical opposition, including high-ranking personalities, formed more and more and denied him episcopal sees. He was unable to establish archbishops in either Sens or Reims. He himself would have liked to become Archbishop of Cologne. However, the Frankish, especially Rhenish priests, who repeatedly passed on their bishoprics from uncle to nephew, even father to son, resisted his intrusion. They made difficulties for the saint and his disciples wherever they could {Falck). Open enmity began between Boniface and the majority of the foreign episcopate (ßutzen). Prominent **among them was** the aristocratic Bishop Gewilip of Mainz,

who, later deposed by Karlmann, committed blood revenge on a military expedition, probably744. with his own hand. Furthermore, Charles Martel's close friend, also from the high nobility
Milo, Bishop of Trier and Reims at the same time, who was apparently quite
generously distributed church property to his children and u7s7 died while hunting boars. And apparently also Bishop Hildcgar of Cologne, who died in the Saxon War. 75} over injustice for his diocese, which Boniface denied him."

When he became bishop there after the fall of one of his greatest opponents, Gcwilip of Mainz (y y), his personal rank as archbishop was not linked to his see, and the]Vtaixz influence on the Middle Rhine was presumably curtailed from Trier. Nor had the Legnt achieved the complete subordination of the Frankish Church to the papacy that he had been striving for. Only three bishops from New Stria and Austria who were particularly loyal to Rome had initiated a church consecration.
visited the first edition ofi4 . No prince showed up. Boniface, who often enough lamented about "the false brothers", the "false priests", was at times even attacked by the Ka-
roiingians were relegated more to the periphery of the empire, while the popes lied their way into the heart of the rulers. Thus, filled with bitter disappointment (Tellenbach), he withdrew from -major- politics and became a minister again. - Everywhere trouble, everywhere sorrow. On 'ien battles, inside fear'-, the sick man once complained to a friend, the abbess Eadburg of Thanet.
-The hostility of the false brothers is worse than the Bos-
of the unbelieving heathen."

In J-*' 754, after five years of work, Boniface, together with his Utrecht choir bishop Eoban and his companions, was slain by the tiles near Dokkum on the Doorn River - quite possibly defended by his -men-, in a battle of -weapons against weapons- (Vita Bonifatii). As befits Christians. In vain he held "the holy gospel book" over his head against the fatal blow. And in true Christian manner fell -as soon as swift warriors of the future revenge ... safe but unharmed guests-, like priest Willibald von htainz witzelc (sospitcs sed

indevoti hospites), entered 'the land of the unbelievers' and inflicted a crushing defeat on the 'opposing pagans'. The lousy ones fled, were massacred and, turning their backs, lost their lives along with their possessions, household goods and heirs. The Christians, however, returned home with the captured wives, children, servants and maidservants of the idolaters (Vita Bonifatii).

Is this not a happy, pious religion? Especially since the The surviving prey friezes, the enslaved women and children, now also, through the murderers, the robbers, "frightened by the divine judgment", accepted the faith of the o n e they had killed. To this day, the rest of them remain in Fulda."

Of course, this is only half the truth. Priest Willibald tells the whole story at the end of the 8th chapter of his Vita (the q. and last chapter is added later": Rau). For now there, -where the holy corpse was buried …and all who come here, oppressed by the most diverse diseases, find healing of body and soul through the intercessions of the holy man, so that some whose whole body was almost dead, who were almost completely disembodied and seemed to exhale their last breath, regain their former health, others, whose eyes were covered with blindness, regain their sight, still others, who were in the snares of the devil, mentally disturbed and insane, afterwards receive the original freshness of spirit….– - And the 8lles through the • Fighter in the race of the spirit". And, of course, thus concludes Willibald's work (if genuine), through the -Lord, to whom be honor and glory for ever and ever. Amen-."

Unfortunately, this does not mean that we are finished with Christianity. For it is now unfolding ever more magnificently.

While Boniface was committed to the papacy, the popes were committed to themselves. At first, the Byzantines and Lombards were still the most important power factors for them.

12. KAPITEL

REVOLT OF THE PAPACY AND THE DISPUTE OVER IMAGES

-He armed himself against the emperor as against an enemy.
Liber Pon'ificslis'

-With God's goodness we enter the6into the cnC(ernic regions of the destens.- Papsi Grcgot II.'

• . trntz all external moderation the head of the Italian Revo1ution-. L. M. Hartmann'

In the course of the7. century, the papal household developed more and more into a court that was not lacking in secular dignitaries.

There are hardly any reports of Gregory's first closest successors, Sabinian, Bonifarius III and IV, Deusdedit and Boniface V.. However, they did not walk across the stage quite as mutely as the ghost kings in Macbeth (Mann), especially not Gregory's immediate successor Sabinian (fiO4 6). For when, during one of the severe famines that were not uncommon in Rome, the miserable people marched in front of the papal palace and cried out: - Apostolic Father, let us not perish!"-, the pope brusquely rejected it. He was tough and thought votaus. He refused any help. Later he sold his grain at exorbitant prices. He is said to have demanded 3, even 3o solidi per bushel of grain. The church holdings became a lucrative business. So much so that, after his death, he had to be taken out of the city to St. Peter's as quickly as possible: the outraged diocesans wanted to take his body. And Pope Bonifatitis IV {ÖO I§), -the most beautiful head of the churches of Europe {Columban of Bobbio), had a funeral baptized on the Roman

The Forum erected a pillar with a golden statue of Phocas, one of the greatest abominations of not only the7 century: -for the countless benefactions of his

Piety- (p. if4 ff.).*

A decade later, a **man ascended the** cathedra **in Rome** -Peter", who made history (or at least made a name for himself) deep into modern times, almost to this day, a Holy Father in the face of whom the infallibility claimed by the papacy over and over again has become a reality.

The fact is that the Definitio ex cathedra in matters of faith appears to be exactly the farce that it is.

THE CHURCH CURSES AN APOSTLE

Honorius 1st (6zy-d58), a Schiller of Gregor I and, like him, a descendant of the nobility, would have fitted in well with the gallery of his colleagues.

Honorius promoted the conversion of the Lombards to Catholicism by taking a stand against the Arian Arioald in favour of the Catholic Adaloald. He wanted to see the schismatic prelates dragged to Rome for punishment by the exarch Isacius. He expelled Bishop Fortunatus of Aquileia-Grado. Under his pressure, southern Ireland joined the Roman Easter custom. He recommended that the English king Eadwin of Northumbria, d€-F*7 ^crouched on the cross, should eagerly follow Gregor I's writings. And the Spanish episcopate was incited
Honorius, as a true disciple of the -great- Gregory, to fight the Jews (cf. p.*77 ff.). In doing so, he compared (confusing a '\II/orr of} esaias 6,zo with one of Ezekiel)
He compared the bishops to "dumb dogs that can't bark" and complained that he alone was responsible for chastising the Baal monkeys! His teacher Gregory the Great was his role model in the leadership of his pontificate," praises pope historian Seppelt.

Honorius I also built enormously. He squandered a lot of silver and plundered pagan palaces without restraint, although he still had enough capital in the Lateran. And although the exarch Sqo, after the pope's death, confiscated part of it to pay the troops and fill the imperial war chest (p. 3¢o), the following popes still had plenty of money at their disposal.

So far, so good, so to speak.

The long and very long end of this pontificate, however, resulted from a theological crisis that occurred during the reign of Phocas' successor Heraclius (6io--dqI).

This son of the Exarch of Africa had appeared before Constantinople as the new usurper with the banner of the Mother of God, overthrew Phocas as bloodily as he had once risen himself and then received the crown from the patriarch of the city on October $. October 6io received the crown. A significant date, for the reforms of this ruler marked the beginning of the medieval Greek Empire.

Herakleios, often called "the first crusader", opened a six-year war against the Persians in 6zz (usually on Easter Sunday), who conqueredJ erusalem in 614 and destroyed the Holy Sepulchre, had robbed the Holy Cross and 6-7 already at the Bosporus, stood in front of the capital. So Herakleios led a real crossroads. Patriarch Sergius had demanded it and financed it by giving away all the church treasures. The matter was also obviously blessed by God. -Everywhere the holy cities of the Mazdders went up in flames (Daniel-Rops), including the temple of fire in Ganzak and the birthplace of Zoroaster. 6z8 Herakleios made peace with the Persians after Chusrau II, condemned to death by his own son Kavadh Scheroe (5irods), had seen some of his children die before his eyes {February 6z8). -It was a wonderfully beautiful triumph of the Eastern Roman Empire, which preserved the old Roman and at the same time the Christian supremacy {Cartellieri). Immediately afterwards, however, Asia Minor was overrun by the Arabs.'

For the time being, however, the -first Kreux driver- had won.

On the zx.

In Jerusalem on March 3, ö3o, the holy cross of the Redeemer, which had been unveiled by the Persians, was re-erected with great rejoicing - as the evidence suggests (Mango), a subverted one. The emperor then sought to return the Monophysite Christians, who had in the meantime driven out the Catholic bishops and replaced them with Monophysites, to the imperial church through religious accommodation. He was also quite successful thanks to a unification formula proposed by the capital's patriarch Sergius (probably himself the son of Monophysite parents). According to this formula, the god-man, who was made up of two

natures existed (this was state dogma}, not a twofold, but only one mode of action, one God-human energy {Monoenergism'.)

Well, this kind of rabble-rousing (which, of course, continues to tear the Eastern Empire apart internally) in an already bottomless spinning - yes! - need not concern us. As a kind of bridge to monophysitism, it was in any case cleverly devised in terms of religious policy, and initially successful, even in Syria and Egypt, yes - even with the Pope. Honorius I turned against the orthodox opposition, led in particular by the monk and later patriarch of Jerusalem, Sophronius, and declared: "We confess the will of our Lord Jesus Christ ..." The consequence of this was the Edict of Faith of -Ekthesis- (638), written by Sergius, issued by the emperor with a strong personal interest in theology and posted in Hagia Sophia. The one mode of action {Monergeia) was now replaced by the doctrine of the exalted will in Christ, which was even more congenial to the Monophysites and mainly sought peace with them: the bcgin n of the monotheletic controversy, the last dogmatic struggle between East and West, and the - up to the iqth century - Honorius question. century - the Honorius question.

Initially, two church assemblies in Constantinople in 1638 and ä3q) approved -ecthesis- as conforming to apostolic preaching, the Roman Church also recognized, signed and disseminated it. But then the successors of Honorius, who sought greater ecclesiastical and political independence from Byzantium, and even secession, rejected the monothelete doctrine again.

At the sixth general council in Constantinople, 68o/ 68i - where Patriarch Makarios of Antioch worked with forged documents {as his forgers, a monk and a scholar, confessed) - the Church formally cursed Pope Honorius I as a monothelete on z8. March 68i Pope Honorius I was formally cursed as a monothelete, along with four other monothelete - heretical - papal triarchs of Constantinople: Sergius, his successors Pyrrhos I, Paul and Peter, and his formally ex cathedra decreed

letter was solemnly burned. The Council declared with obvious pleasure (Palanque) that Honorius, the former pope of ancient Rome, must also fall into anathema, because we have found in his letter to Sergius that he alone followed his opinion and confirmed his godless teachings." Now, the -Haresic - convicted - representatives of Christ already existed before Honorius, such as the Modalist Popes Victor 1, Zephyrin and Callist, who all, more or less clearly, represented Modalism. Pope Honorius, however, the disciple of church teacher Pope Gregory "the Great", was officially condemned as a heretic by the Roman Catholic Church itself. And not only at the sixth general council of KonnanGnopel68oZ68i.

For from then on, a long line of Holy Fathers, probably through three hundred and fifty fathers, referred to Pope Honourius I as the "flame of heresy" in a solemn confession of faith on their accession to the throne: a self-disavowal that was disputed over and over again at the time of Jansenism and Gallicanism, and even at the First Vatican Council 18 O when papal infallibility was dogmatized. Does this

-The Church's "infallibility" was based on the assumption that none of his successors had ever erred in the faith due to the divine promise to the apostolic prince Peter ... Leo 11 (68s-83), however, already saw the Church "defiled" by Honorius' unholy betrayal and approved the condemnation of his predecessor by the sixth ecumenical council; he confirmed it in a letter to the emperor and in two letters to the bishops of Spain. For centuries, no one tried to exonerate or excuse Honorius I. In modern times, however, the official historian of the Catholic Church, Cardinal Caesar Baronius {gest. zö), flatly denied the Pope's condemnation.

While Honorius reigned, the Prophet Mohammed died in 63z. And while the monothe- lism controversy continued to fester in the West, Islam was preparing to conquer Islam in the East. The Prophet's green flag had been flying over Da- maskus since 635, over Jerusalem since 638 and over Edessa' the

Headquarters of Christian Syrian theology. The whole of Syria had already been conquered, Byzantine Mesopotamia occupied and Egypt attacked.

In Rome, however, it took the Holy Spirit two years after Honorius' death before he decided on his successor Severinus (6qo). And even before the enthronement, Roman troops stormed the Lateran, which had been defended by the Pope for three days. Then Exarch Isacius of Ravenna rushed in, confiscated the church treasury, used it to pay the army, sent most of the money to the emperor and chased the leading clerics out of the city.[2]

ROM REBE L LING AGAINST BYzANZ

As the empire was in a bad way, with the unstoppable onslaught of Islam and Constantinople shaken by palace revolutions and uprisings, Rome considered abandoning the seemingly sinking ship. In any case, the new pope, John IV.

(Sho-64 z), did not continue the path of Honorius, but the of his opponent, the Dyothelete 8ophronius of Jerusalem. Theser had died in 638, one year after the conquest of the city by the Arabs. However, he had committed one of his combatants, Bishop Stephen of Dor, by an oath on Golgotha to call the saints of Rome against monotheletism and to continue the fight.

In Rome, the bishop's incantations fell on fertile ground. John IV, apparently already consecrated on his own authority without confirmation from Byzantium, rose up **against** the emperor. The pope cursed the ecthesis and demanded its removal. In doing so, he defended Honorius by lying that Greek translators had falsified his letters, which were quite clear. This becomes even more outrageous when you consider that the same Abbot Johannes who wrote Honorius' letters now also authored Pope John's letter.

However, the new f'ontifcx maxirnus, Tkcodor l. (64a 48), the son of a Palestinian bishop (of the same name), attacked not only monotheletism with ruthlessness, but also the imperial house. Indeed, there was a veritable rebellion, in which religion and politics interacted in a sophisticated, but nonetheless conspicuous way."

The monk Maximos, -the Confessor- {Maximum Confessor) played a central role in this. Formerly a secret adviser to Emperor Herakleios, he had become abbot of the Scutari monastery and then a fanatical follower of Sophronios. For some time he had been working in Africa, where the exarch Gregorius (probably related to the imperial family) was preparing an uprising against Byzantium, apparently in agreement with the Pope. However, the new emperor Constans II also appeared in Africa.

{64 i-668), the grandson of Herakleios, overthrew Patriarch Pyrrhos I, of Constantinople, And IN JUII45 '*--enated Maximos in Carthage, where Exarch Gregorius ruled and shortly before the

At the end of the show, or rather comedy, the previous monothelete and expatriarch declared himself defeated. At the end of the show, or rather the comedy, the former monothelete and expatriarch declared himself defeated, went to Rome with Maxiitios and solemnly recanted his previous monotheletic confession before Pope Theodore and the clergy. In response to a cue from Rome, Gregory rose in Carthage and accepted the title of emperor. At the same time, *synods* against monotheletism were held throughout his empire, apparently at the instigation of Maximos.

Ern Abbot Thomas reported that he had been sent as a papal envoy to the rebellious African exarch to encourage him and to report that in a dream, Abbot Maximos had seen a choir of angels in heaven in both the West and the East, but the voices of the angels in the West sang louder and deeper: -*Emperor* Gregory, you shall conquer! - The whole West rebelled, politically and ecclesiastically, against the East, where the new emperor had restored the overthrown patriarch to his amr

and the pope should dust the so auhehenerrede convert."

The great uprising failed early on, however, because Emperor Gregorius, the advocate of orthodoxy, had already ö y4 against the Arabs advancing from Egypt. As expatriarch When Pyrrhos saw that he had lost the game he had set up with Maximos and Rome, he changed fronts again. He quickly recanted his Roman confession at the exarchy in Raverina and returned to Constantinople, according to the official papal book, like a dog to the godlessness he had spit out. The emperor, however, advised by Patriarch Paul, forbade öJ8 by an edict called the -typos-, on pain of severe punishment (removal from office, corporal punishment, banishment), any dispute about one or two Wil- len in Christ.

The "Typos" was also an attempt at concession, an attempt at mediation. But the -holy ones- in Rome did not give in at all. Pope Theodore announced the deposition of Patriarch Paul of Constantinople. He then banned the papal legals from worshipping in his palace, had the chapel destroyed and the protesters beaten, imprisoned and banished. In Rome, however, many Africans appeared, especially fugitive monks from the Orient, and further fueled the prevailing turmoil. And when Theodore I died, a decade after the death of Honorius, **a** heretic pope was replaced by a martyr pope."

Marrin I.¡ 4WJ3), once Theodon's nuncio at court, continued the fight against Byxanz with all his might. Without the permission of the emperor - already an act of rebellion - he consecrated a large court in the Latcran, where Stephen of Dor acted as accuser, but the majority of Westerners could hardly understand the complicated theological rabble-rousing.

The pope was also able to curse the ecthesis together with the "even more godless typos" as -Häresic-. According to this, the Pope claimed, Christ was without personality and natural qualities. To be on the safe side, all -heretics- from Aritis to court patriarchs were also cursed.

arch Sergius and consorts. Relations between Byzantium and the pope had been formally severed, and both resigned to the Kzmpf''

Gxarch Olympios, beau/says, the adoption of the -typos- in to force his way through the whole of Italy and seize the Pope, but came to an understanding with him, as a change of front seemed more promising. Together with the pope, he rebelled against the emperor and, with the help of the Italic militia, was able to play usurper for around three years, especially as he also had control of the Roman militia in Sicily, which had been heavily dependent on the papacy since Gregory l. But both rebels had reckoned without fate and the emperor. Olympios succumbed to an epidemic in Sicily while fighting the Arabs. And Martin I was the victim of his betrayal.

In June 653, the new exarch Theodore Calliopa, who had already held this office once before, moved to Rome with an army and seized his husband, who was not pope at all for Byzantium, as he had been consecrated without imperial consecration. The fearful Martin had made his bed at the altar of the Lateran Basilica, seeking protection. But he was not arrested for reasons of faith, as the exarch told the Roman clergy. The pope was secretly taken to the harbor at night, from there down to Porto in a small boat, then to the Miseno naval station and on a three-month voyage to Constantinople.

After a further three months in strict solitary confinement, the interrogation was opened on ze. December the interrogation was opened. When Marrin, according to the old priestly custom, wanted to appeal to questions of faith, the judge cut him off: - Bring us nothing about faith here, you are now being interrogated about high treason." The pope tried to justify his complicity in the Olympian uprising by his powerlessness in the face of the exarch; however, he rightly denied any connection with the Saracens. He was condemned to death, pardoned at the last moment at the intercession of the seriously ill Patriarch Paul II, his opponent, and after a further three months in prison was banished to Kherson on the Black Sea, where he arrived in mid-May ö q and died in mid-September 6}5

died: - venerated as a martyr **by the Roman and Greek Churches to this day**, although he only met the end of a high traitor. He was the first pope to seriously want to tear Italy away from the empire, both ecclesiastically and politically."

The Church later falsified the whole process, but during the pope's last feudal period, especially in Rome, it did not care about him in the slightest, as Martin himself testifies with bitter words. Cowardly obeying the authority of the state, on io. August 654 II, a successor was elected to Eugene 1 of Rome {65d57) , at a time when Martin was still alive.

was. But Felix 11. had already been put in the place of Liberius (II io8 ff.). Martin 1. was astonished by all this, complained that the Roman Church did not even p r o v i d e him with food, and wrote in September öyy, shortly before his death: -I have nundett myself and still wonder at the equally valid mercilessness of all those who once belonged to me, and of my friends and neighbors, that they have so completely forgotten me in my misfortune ... -

A decade later, however, the same church denounced Martin's treasonous process as "the machinations of false slanderers" and his opponents as "enemies of the truth and of God himself". The first pilgrims were already walking to his tomb, raving about the -many miracles- of the -great martyr of the

Truth- and took a piece of his scarf and a papal shoe as relics. Seventy]years

Later, Gregor lL: -Our predecessor **Martin** sat exhorting to peace on the sruhle; therefore the evil **Constans ... tore him down."**

Abbot Maximos, the fanatical agitator of Orthodoxy and the real mastermind behind the whole t h i n g , also ended up as a traitor, although his religious and political motives can hardly be distinguished. Since he, the most important Byzantine theo-

loge dC*7 century, was much more respected than the Pope, the greatest effort was made to persuade the old man to give in, at least religiouslyi in vain. He died mutilated in the Caucasus *\66z),* and of course also as a saint,

as a martyr: Christian justice cut off his right hand and his tongue. -It was also through Maximus Confessor that one of the greatest theological forgers, Pseudo-Dionysius, - for centuries the doctrinal master of the West

world- (*47 ff.), with his forgeries got the "civil right in the church" (-Lexikon für Theologie und Kirchen)." However, after the middling revolt, the papacy first came under pressure. right into the power of the emperor. Eugene 1 (65q-d y), already in the summer ofi4 * S antipope to Martin 1, initially even approached the East in the notorious question of will, the imperial - typos" v-< 4 . ---zegen. Even more yielding was Vitalian 1. (6§7 7^i, who did not put up the slightest resistance. **dared,** not even theologically. And when Constaris 11, who had lost vast territories in the East to Islam, sought to regain a foothold in the West and appeared in Rome - the last imperial visit from the East - Pope Vitalian received the -Martin's executioner with the highest honors and one church celebration after another. On July 663, he went to meet the one who had allowed his predecessor to perish miserably in exile, festively with clergy and people up to the sixth milestone and later went to St. Peier together with the ruler and the whole army with candle lights. Constans donated an altar cloth there and also prayed in St. Paul's and St. Maria Maggiore. He hurried from church to church - and then had all the ore in Rome removed from the public buildings, even the bricks of St. Maria ad Martyres, and transported to Constantinople. Similarly, the Christian Cairo dwelled in Sicily, where he dealt a final blow to the popes by recognizing the autocephaly of the archbishopric of Ravenna and expressly stipulating that the bishops there were not subject to the patriarchy of Rome. However, in 668, Constance was murdered in his residence in Syracuse in the baths by a comb- er, the henchman of a larger conspiracy, and his successor was "applauded by the clergy" (Finley).

However, Rome was also defeated in Sicily. - In the second In the second half of the seventh century, the Sicilian church in

Eastern orientation at every point that really mattered ... So complete was the triumph of the East in Sicily at that time that **even** the educated and politically influential minority abandoned the Latin language and returned to Greek"
{Finley).'°

Even if the popes, remembering the fate of Martin, acted very cautiously at first, and Vitalian even stood up for the son of the murdered Constan II, Constantine V, who was threatened by an opposing emperor (the Armenian Mezezios), they strove away from this rightful authority ever more resolutely. The temptation was too great, the moment too favorable. The Byzantines were losing huge provinces to Islam; and they had

In the West, too, where the Franks increasingly pushed themselves into the foreground, no successes were achieved, neither against Visigoths nor
Lombards."

BOOK BURNING EN AND SLAUGHTER -- THE CATHO LISTING OF LAN GOBARDEl-i

The North Germanic tribe of the Lombards, which gradually became more and more Romanized, had possessed a large population since their invasion in 68
(p.7 ff.) of Upper and Central Italy; only in the south and in Sicily, the center of papal possessions, did he have no influence8. The Byzantines, however, wanted
They were able to maintain their own rule at least in the coastal regions and in the south. In between, the Holy Fathers maneuvered, sometimes in alliance with Byzantium, sometimes with the Lombards, and thus slowly but surely gained more power. The Lombards were initially more successful with victories over the Byzantines at Calorc and Forino and, under the Beneventine Duke Romuald, with advances as far as Taranto and Brindisi (668)."

However, with the increasing Catholicization of the Lombards in the course of the y. century, the Roman Church became increasingly important to them. It finally undermined them

Catholic Germanic tribes - and buried them in the end. But before, under the dictates of the clergy, many church issues were regulated by law (from marriage to consecrated virgins, the fight against heretics was also enshrined in law and, after the liquidation of Arianism, the last remnants of paganism were eradicated), church issues had played virtually no role in the legislation of the Arian kings of the Lombards. Of the 388 chapters of the
Edictum Rothari(431, the first record of Lombard law and at the same time the most important achievement of Germanic legislation, only two directly concern the church."

With Aripert 1 (653-66i), Duke of Asti, the Catholic branch of Theudelinde gained the upper hand. As the first male representative of the Bavarian dynasty descended from her, King Aripert, her nephew, is said to have favored C a t h o l i c bishops, in contrast to his Arian and anti-Roman predecessors, and perhaps even fought against Arianism. In any case, the last Arian bishop, Finastasius, converted under him in Pavia, his residence. And Aripert's
His son Perctarit. 7• w a s proclaimed king by the Laiigobards, was decidedly pro-papal, also philo-Byzantine, and pursued "an intensive policy of catholicization with the consent of the papacy". with the Roman Church" (Tabacco). Thus, after **Perctarit**'s death (ö88), Duke Alahis of Trent rose up **against Perctarit's** son Cu- nincpert, supported by all opposing groups, the last remnants of the Arians and the three-chapter schismatics. Although Alahis had sworn allegiance to both kings before the powerful archangel Michael, the patron saint of the Lombards, he now forced Cunincpert, who, having ruled together with his father since 68o, had also demonstrated his Catholicism by forcibly converting the Jews, to flee.

Afahis temporarily held office as king in Pavia, but he made himself popular with the Catholic clergy, whom he harassed, and Cunincpert, who was friendly to priests and Romans and whose daughter was abbess, was able to return to his residence. On the Adda, on

Soon afterwards, the two princes led their armies against each other in a battle of orthodoxy against schism. There was "immense bloodshed". But -under the Lord's assistance- {Paulus Deaconus) the orthodox Cunincpert was victorious {and then built a monastery there in honor of St. Gregory the Martyr). AlahiS fell. The fleeing enemy was stabbed or erected in the Flufi. And after Ansfrit, who had rebelled in continuation of Alahi's plans, was captured, blinded and exiled in Verona, the political unification of the Lombard kingdom was followed by the ecclesiastical unification. After all, Cunincpert's most important goal was the complete catholicization of the Lombards ([arnnt). The schismatic bishops bowed to Pope 5ergius, who had their heretical writings ceremonially burned and promised the king forgiveness of his sins for his bloody battle victory. The three-chapter schism that had lasted one hundred and fifty years was o v e r .'*

Of course, the Lombards never hesitated to move against Roman territory in the future, nor did the popes, on the other hand, play along with even the worst of them. For example with Aripert II ((7 +W+-), a usurper who was on the throne after Cu-
nincpert's death, his underage son Liutpert is killed in the bath.
He had the family of his guardian, the later Lombard king Ansprand, who fled to the Bavarian ducal court, horribly mutilated, Ansprand's son Sigiprand's eyes gouged out, Ansprand's wife Theoderada's nose and ears cut off, as well as the daughter Autona, the sister of the later king Liutprand, who **had** also escaped to Bavaria to join his **father. But that** was not **all:** King Aripert 11 **also** punished all of Ansprand's blood relatives in various ways". Paulus Diakonus does not reveal how, but we hear that Aripert only shaved the head and beard of a rival, Duke Rotharit of Bergamo, banished him to Turin and murdered him.
]igß to

The alliance with the criminal on the throne brought the Holy Father the return of papal possessions on the Ligurian coast - -in golden letters- King Aripert

and sent it to Rome. However, when Teutpert, the Bavarian ruler, gave in to Ansprand's insistence and invaded Italy with his army, many people died on both sides in a battle and King Aripert wanted to flee to the Franks, he drowned while swimming across a river, laden with gold, and was buried in the church of our Lord and Savior…- For Paul Deaconus also reports of the multiple murderer: -He was a pious

After Aripert's demise, the returned Ansprend briefly ascended the throne; he was then succeeded by his son Liutprand, under whom the power of the Lombards culminated. His father had received the news of this elevation while still on his deathbed. But although the new king was a devout Catholic and a great supporter of the Church (p. j63 f.), the papacy fought him to the last as it had fought Byzantium, only more vehemently, even more ruthlessly, because it wanted to rule Italy itself."

With the Roman Revolution, a great rheo

The logical-political tragedy, especially in the East, which made history under the name -Bilderstr-'-- (7*J- 43), began at that time and took on enormous proportions.

THE BtLDERSTREIT **BEGINS**

If we are well informed about the 6th century of Byzantine history, especially through the detailed descriptions of the historian Prokop, gur, theres 7 *Itd 8th century are still very much in the dark. Only the chronicles of two theologians, two

The two defenders of the images, who both die in exile, the Patriarch of Constantinople, Nikephoros, and, somewhat more extensively, Theophanes Confessor, shed a miserable light on this enormous period, in which the late yth and early 8th centuries in particular are regarded as one of the darkest epochs.

Byzantine history gil¢.

Emperor Justinian II (68y-dqş, yoy i i), who tried so hard to derive his imperial power from the will of God, had many thousands of Slavic families deported by him executed, 6qy was ousted from the throne and exiled to the Crimea with his nose cut off. The next rulers quickly replaced each other, and two decades of red anarchy ensued. In addition, the Bulgarians, nomads from the Volga region, invaded the empire and
7••. nder Chan Terwel, penetrated as far as the outskirts of Constantinople. 7*7 **The Arabs appeared there again, destroyed the capital, but were defeated by Leo II i7*7W4i), the lsaurian.
be rejected. But it was precisely this savior of Byzantium, who is still highly praised by Christianity today, who was also the cause of the bloody Christian conflict, w h i c h shook the Byzantine world for more than a century and more than any previous rebellion, and also contributed significantly to the estrangement between Eastern and Western Rome."

It is generally believed that the conflict began in 7**. --- a devastating earthquake in the southern ğ g ã i s for a "judgment of God" because of the new
-idolatry", the cult of images. Emperor Leo III ordered the removal of all images of saints, martyrs and angels. 730 their destruction, including ancient images of Christ and Marian. Iconoclasm, the iconoclasm that not only affected the clergy,
but also gripped the popular masses and, frequently examined, perhaps more contradictory than any other phase of Byzantine history, tore the imperial empire apart in a way that can hardly be traced. Far more than mere theological bickering, as a religious reform movement, a clash between secular and ecclesiastical power, it b r o u g h t the state to the brink o f ruin, and this at a time of a certain political and domestic recovery, after the Christological conflicts had also abated.'*

However, the outcome of the dispute over the images was a purely theo-
logical-dogmatic problem.

Even the pre-Indo-European religion is without images, the Vodic, Zaraihustrian, ancient Roman, AÍtgerinan religion, be-

especially the Jewish one. Even the Old Testament strictly forbids any worship of images. And early Christianity also does not recognize any figurative worship of God. On the contrary. Just as (ancient) Judaism expressly condemns the making of images, just as the prophets mock those who make a god and worship an idol, "the work of their hands" - kissing the calves - so the early church fathers also fought long and hard against the cult of images that had subsequently gained such momentum. As late as the4 . Century theologians such as Eusebius
or Archbishop Epiphanius of Salamis is anti-image, under-
says the Council of Elvira about the installation of images and their veneration. On the other hand, it was "heretics and Gnostics who began the transition, w h o apparently introduced the image of Christ and his veneration into Christianity."

The custom has been rampant in the East since the 6th century, in the 6th century it is already as widespread there as it is today; not only the images of Christ are venerated, but also those of Mary, the saints and angels. The monks in particular promote the cause and also have very solid, material reasons for doing so; iconolatry is part of their business (money-making pilgrimages, for example, to the
"images of grace"). And the image-friendly theologians justify all this, since according to their view, it is not the dead image but the living God that is worshipped in the image and, as Nikephoros says, "seeing leads to faith". The image-destroyers, on the other hand, sought to restore the undeniably older Christian principles to their rightful place.

The people, however, revered the icon itself as powerful and miraculous. It was virtually the content of their faith. They appeared on furniture, clothes and earrings. Thanks to heaven or the art of the priest, icons began to speak, bleed, and to vein themselves when attacked. Yes, there were even icons that were not solidified by human hands (acheiropoierai), even those that represented the role of a godfather at a baptism. In this way, the believing people came to idolize the images more and more, identifying them with the saint himself. They kissed the statues, images and lit candles,

Lamps from them. Sick people occasionally asked for scraped-off pieces of paint in order to get well. People burned incense, fell down in front of them, in short, treated these objects no differently than the pagans treated their 'idols'.

And this was also perceived as a kind of idolatry by the opponents of iconolatry, the iconoclasts. They came from the imperial family, the army and, in particular, from certain regions that were strongly influenced by Islam, especially from areas of Asia Minor. They also lived in those eastern borderlands of the empire, where the -heretical - Paulicians in particular, who held the veneration of the cross and images, ceremonies and sacraments in high esteem, fought against Christians, who first appeared in Armenia around the middle of the yth century. They first appeared in Armenia around the middle of the th century and remained an extremely active power on the Byzantine eastern border for more than two centuries."

Now it is remarkable, however, and throws a significant light on the whole riot, that the emperors and circles of the army, who were among the fiercest opponents of the cult of the image, were previously its particular patrons. The rulers of the
ö. and7. J Ahrhunderts had, using the mass mania concerning the images, made use of it for their purposes, politically tiiid especially militarily. lu countless battles were accompanied by images, whole cities were placed under their protection, they became the defenders of
fortresses were made. But of course they failed all too often, city after city fell into the hands *of* unbelievers, which brings us very close to the direct cause of iconoclasm. If the images had worked the expected miracles, it is very likely that there would have been no iconoclasm at all. -But the icons did not deliver what was expected of them ..." (Mango)*

The rebellion had started primarily in the oriental episcopate. The anti-image party had its main representatives in the Asia Minor bishops Constantine of Nakoleia, Metropolitan Thomas of Klaudioupolis and Theodoros of Ephesus. The anti-image party also had the first death

Victims: several of the Soİdata ordered to remove the images were killed in a popular uprising. The ßildervcreators, the lkonodulen, were found almost everywhere in the empire. In Orimt, these included in particular the ninety-year-old Patriarch Gcrmanos of **ÑOn5tantirlOQØÎ** (7*5 jO), the Metropolis John of Synnada
and the monks. In the west, the great masses belonged to the Bíider defenders, above all also, from the very beginning, the ***Õ^r'*!***
which was striving for more independence, including political leadership.
It was no coincidence that Byzantine rule in central Italy collapsed.

However, the importance of iconoclasm for Rome was long overestimated. The imperial court soon renounced iconoclastic activities in Italy. However, the vehemently anti-image monarch KOilStAfltİn V (7'*W7 1, who called himself the true Preuiid of Christ, a worshipper not of his image, but of the cross, even published personal theological writings and created his own theology especially against the image of Christ - for him an expression of either Nestorianism (11 i J6 ff.) or of monophysitism (II zi 3 If.), i.e. the separation or mixing of the two natures in Christ. The Council of Constantine C 757 sharply condemned the cult of images as a work of Satan and idolatry."

A PAPAL ÕEVO LUTION FAILS

The masses of the clergy naturally knew that their power was based above all on the magic of the thing, the beautiful appearance, the outer meaningful magic of the service, which is why they had to keep up with the image-worshipping people. In the end, the power of the idols had almost been taught to be used in this way and, by withdrawing them, would have deprived him of the source of his spirituality, his piety. Therefore, after the fall of the Caliph Jezid (who had ordered the removal of images from all Christian churches in the Arab Empire twice), the energetic Emperor

Leo ttl, det lsaurian, who was considered a Saracen sympathizer (satake- npphron), ordered with the consent of a council in a formal edict (2z6) to remove from the churches all images of martyrs or angels and to put them under lock and key iY3
another edict ordered their destruction), there were exces-
of fanaticism in East and West: Christians against Christians, as *so* often - through all the centuries."

Entire provinces were filled with the debris of kitsch and irreplaceable works of art. The iconoclasts were persecuted, the anti-image crowd revolted. Pope Gregory II.
(7 5*7i i) forbade himself - in outrageously challenging diction, as Symmachus at best had previously done under Ostrogothic protection
He had risked the emperor's interference in matters of faith and had the whole of Italy on his side, especially the bishops. He took the monarch's threats that he would send him to Rome, lock up the image of St. Peter and lead Pope Gregory away bound, as Constantine [Constance 11th] had done to Martin [I], lightly, as he sneered -If you bared your arms and threatened us, we had no need to contend with you. Three miles [far] the pope will escape from Rome to the land of Campania, then well, chase after the winds!
-The whole of the West-, claimed the Pope, -has set its eyes on our great person, and even if we are not worthy of it, they still have great confidence in us and in him whose image you want to destroy and make disappear, the holy apostle-prince Peter, whom all the kingdoms of the West respect as a god [!] on earth. If you should dare to test this, the people of the West are truly willing to do justice to those of the East.

G regor's rebellion was, of course, not only theological,
but also highly tangible, materially motivated.

Emperor Leo III hAt-*7*7' i 8 **successfully defended** Constantinople by land and sea **against the Arabs - one of the most decisive** battles in world history. 8He loved Asia Minor, which he had conquered in
years of campaigning from those who were still in p o w e r for almost seven
Centuries Byzantine and Christian. On the financial equalization

Of course, after the Arab invasion he had to collect new taxes, which primarily affected the Roman Church, Italy's first economic power due to its enormous land holdings. The Italian bishops, the country's largest taxpayers, led the resistance to the payment and prevented it. And at the same time, of course, they fought against the emperor's iconoclasm. Not enough, the refusal to pay taxes, which neither the Old nor the New Testament allowed, now became a pious work, gradually being transformed into resistance to the monarch's anti-image policy, who had an image of Christ replaced by a cross at the **entrance to** his palace.

Pope Gregory II, however, was the real leader of Italy in the uprising against his master, "the head of the Italian revolution" (Hartmann). -Be subject to the authorities- no longer applied. The motto was: "You should obey God more than men." And God is - in praxi! - is always the Pope. He not only encouraged the Patriarch of Constantinople, St. Germanos, to fight against the emperor, but also called on the whole world to do so, so that civil war began all around. Indeed, Gregory threatened to break away from Byzantium: -We enter with God's goodness the way to the farthest regions of the

The Pope openly opposed the emperor's claim. He forbade taxes to be paid to the ruler and thus placed himself at the head of the uprising. Even the official Liber Pontificalis writes: -He arms himself against the emperor as against an enemy." The anti-papal Charru!ar Jordanes and the sub-deacon John Lurion were murdered by the Romans, the dux Basilios was thrown into a monastery - evident attacks against the government. Consequently, Exarch Paulus was ordered to remove Gregory from his see. However, when the militias from Ravenna approached, the Popes resisted them in alliance with Italian soldiers and Lombards, and the imperial commanders and officials were expelled from Venice, Ravenna and Rome.

nevent and Spoleto the Byzantine troops. Exarch Paulus fell at the hands of murderers. His generals were also eliminated. The *duke* Exhilaratus and his son Adrian, the latter of whom had been banned by the pope for years for illicit marriage, were captured and killed by the Roman militia. The eyes of the Roman dux Petrus were gouged out because he had written to the emperor - against the pope -, Everywhere the rebellion was victorious: His Holiness and the Lombards in unanimous rebellion against the emperor. Even the Liber Pontificalis assures us that "the whole of Italy, outraged by the wickedness of 8asileus, decided to elect another and lead him to Constantinople". In fact, the counter-emperor Cosmas was proclaimed in Greece, a fleet appeared with him off Constantinople, but was finally defeated in the naval battle of April i 8, J-78a nzlich, Cosmas was hanged."

Gregory II was still the center of the opposition in 7 9, he saw - the entire Occident" looking up at him. "The peoples of the West are already, he writes to the emperor. -We derive our power and authority from Peter, Prince of the Apostles, and we could, if we wished, sit in judgment on you, but you have already pronounced judgment on yourself and your councils: You and they are glcichermafia cursed.

However, the emperor became master of the rebellion73 when he appointed the aged court patriarch Germanos, who was the patriarch of image worship.

wrong, neither contradicting the Old Testament nor the early Christian tradition, was replaced by Anasrasios {if Ger- manos did not resign of his own accord), the revolution also failed in Italy. Just in time, Gregory had swung into the imperial camp. When the Italian revolutionaries, like the Greek revolutionaries in Greece, proclaimed a certain Tiberius Petasius emperor in Italy as well, the pope, for whom an emperor in Rome, where he himself wanted to command, must have been highly undesirable, warned the people - not to abandon their love and loyalty to the Roman Empire - and gave the exarch the Roman militia to fight the new counter-emperor. Petasius was killed in Roman Tuscia and his head sent to Constantinople.°'

However, Gregory II remained as implacable as his successor in the dispute over images. Through a synod in Rome, Novenibß* 73*. Gregory III.l i*W4-) imposed a ban on the removal, destruction and
defamation of the images, excommunication. But his with
Legates sent to Constantinople with a letter of exhortation were intercepted in Sicily by the imperial strategist Sergius, imprisoned for months and chased back. At the same time, the emperor launched a powerful counterattack that hit the papacy's material base and changed the political geography.

After a fleet launched against Italy was shipwrecked, the monarch took revenge in a different way. Not only did he tighten the tax screw in Lower Italy and Sicily to an extreme degree, but he also detached the Illyrian ecclesiastical province and the whole of Southern Italy, including Sicily, from Rome and placed everything under the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Constantinople¡ - a step that Byzantium strongly defended, but which every new pope tried to block. In addition, the emperor took all his southern Italian patrimonies from the pope, with Sicily alone representing a loss of yyo pounds of gold."

The dispute over images continued throughout 1-cos's reign and intensified under his son and successor Constantine V (yq i-yy6), called Iconoclasres, the iconoclast (but also Kopronymos, because he defiled the water at his baptism, and Caballinus, because he liked to smell horse dung). When
However, when an image-worshipping usurper, his brother-in-law Artabasdos, rose up74• , Rome held the same opinion as the image-hostile **Czar, who** had the **eyes of the conqueror and his sons gouged out**, but managed to make a rich gift of land to Pope Zacharias. Constantine, actively involved in the relevant discussion and
Theologians, who were extremely interested in theology, wanted to ban the worship of saints and Mary and remove or destroy all images of saints from churches.

This emperor particularly persecuted the monks, who were all the more fanatical advocates of the cult of bi!der as they had an economic monopoly on the production of icons. Monasteries were

The monasteries were expropriated, closed, converted into castles, baths or completely destroyed, such as the Kallistratös monastery, Dios monastery, Maximinos monastery, etc. The inmates were faced with the choice of either taking off their habit, taking a wife or being blinded and banished. In Ephesus, monks and nuns were forced to marry, while others (with the backing of the Council of Constantius 01754)) were executed. Pictures
worshipping Mcgären dismembered soldiers, and soldiers caused martyrdoms in the hippodrome. No fewer than 338 bishops signed> 754 ant of the Synod of Hieria the Iconoclastic decrees of Leo III. yo ooo monks, ordered by the emperor.
outlawed, flee to Rome. And all this while the Bulgarians are already beginning their major attack on the empire."

The battle of fire and sword culminates in the six-
years.

Abbot Stephanos of Auxentiosberg, leader of the pictorial friendly opposition, is lynched in the streets of Constantinople in November*7 i . In August alone7$ higher officials and officers, followers of the cult of images, were executed. The next year, the head of the Patriarch Constantine also fell in the arena. The emperor had first killed him, then, on October 6, in front of the assembled city people in the Great Church, the
read the riot act. - After each chapter, writes the later abbot Theophanes, "the secret scribe struck the pseudo-patriarch in the face, while the patriarch Nicetas sat in his chair and watched." The next day, Constantine, bald and wearing a sleeveless mocking dress, was placed upside down on a donkey, led into the hippodrome and howled at by the entire Christian populace, by Seifert.

The donkey was led by his nephew Konstantin, whose nose had been cut off. - When he came to the circus parties, they got down from their seats, spat on him and threw garbage at him. When he came to a stop in front of the Imperial Lodge, they threw him off his donkey and stepped on his neck." At the end of the month, the man denied his faith, and after this satisfaction was obtained,

He was beheaded. His body was dragged through the streets to the hanged man's yard, his head hung by the ears for three days for public inspection at the Milion.'°

s that not cheerful Christianity?

Certainly, this happened in Byzantium. But what was the situation in Rome?

j. CHAPTER

THE EMERGENCE OF THE CHURCH STATE THROUGH WAR AND ROBBERY

-Take heed, O sons, and be eager to take part in what we desire! For know this: whoever steps over to the other side will be excluded from eternal life.

-fight for Oiristus and the Church will be presented to the Franks as a her religious vocation assigned to her - Johannes Heller'

PAPSTLiCHxs LzviE HEN ZWIS CHEN BvzAN2, LOMBARDS AND FRANCS

While the Battle of Byzantium was raging and its effects were still shaking Byzantine Italy, King Liutprand sought to seize the opportunity to expand the Lombard Empire throughout Italy, especially in Emilia and Romagna. He systematically annexed Byzantine territories, building fort after fort, but also strengthened his authority in the duchies of Spoleto and Benevento - in short, he steadily increased his power in both domestic and foreign policy. And when Liutprand 73*
(ode*733) ---tmaIs also Ravenna - so far almost two hundred years in Eastern Roman hands - and the exarch was transferred to the Venetia-
When the ally fled to the Mediterranean lagoons, he became too dangerous for the papacy.

The Roman bishop had little reason to be displeased with Liutprand. The king once released Gregory II's conquered ducat immediately. And he also returned Surri, the casket coveted by the pope and dominating the road to Ravenna {in the form of a document issued to the apostles Peter and Paul}. All out of respect for the apostle prince! For Liutprarid was also personally pious - a devout Catholic devoted to the priests and a demonstrative promoter of the Church. He built a house chapel in his own palace and was the first Lombard king to keep house chaplains. He employed clergymen "to conduct daily services for him" (Paulus Diakonus). One of his relatives became bishop of Pavia. Towards the clergy

he was generous. He founded monasteries, built many churches, decorated them and cultivated the superstitious cult of relics. A prologue to his laws begins with a quotation from the Bible. In a later prologue, he explicitly appears as a defender of the Roman Catholic faith. Gregory 11 fought against the return of nuns to secular life, and Liutprand supported him with a corresponding law. The pope fought against marriages in law, Liutprand supported him with a state ban.

However, although the king was also on Rome's side during the rebellion against the Kniser, the new Pope Gregory III173*U4*) ari betrayed him to the rising Venice. Gregory not only feared Liutprand's power, but also coveted Romagna itself. Thus, despite the agreement with Liutprand

The imperial court of Venetia, Antoninus of Grado, was now to assist the exarch, who had fled to the lagoons, so that Ravenna could be "restored to the old bond of the sacred res publica and imperial subjectship". (Around7 35, after which the Langobar

who had occupied the city for about three years, they took the Venetians in a coup d'état from the sea}. In a letter to the Doge, however, the pope rebuked the Lombards, his faithful allies, image worshippers like himself

-He called the emperor and his son Constantine Kopronymos - his masters and sons - before his successors also betrayed them.

Byzantium also seemed too dangerous for the Pope.

Thus, after driving the Venetian fleet to recapture Ravenna for the exarch, he allied himself y38 with the treacherous Duke Transamund of Spoleto and with the rebel Godschalk, who had seized Benevento. And like (probably} Gregory 11, Gregory III also incited the Lombard dukes against their king. He himself, however, had a large part of Rome's city walls restored and Civitavecchia fortified.

Transamund II had 7-d his father Farwald 11. violently

was deposed, forced to take the tonsure and enter the clergy. When King Liutprand now attacked him in 7i 739 &%--, burned the Pentapolis, overran Spoleto, Transamund fled to the pope, who placed the Roman army at his disposal against Liutprand, who in turn plundered the Roman dukedom and took its border fortresses in the north, war broke out all around, in the Roman region as well as in Ravenna. Transamund won temporarily
(in Decembe* 74 1 --irlC capital and killed the new Duke Hilderich, who had been appointed by Liutprand. But the pope, who
also played off his bishops in the Lombard kingdom against their lord, feared the king's power, and so he appealed to the distant but strong Frankish prince Charles March.

The Frankish Hausmeier, who undisputedly ruled the entire empire and waged war almost without interruption (p.^97). , whereby he also largely used the church and monasteries as backbones and bases (Schwarzach, Gengenbach,
shoulders, the abbey of Reichenau), but for whom the expansion of his rule and Christianity belonged inseparably together, in short, Charles, the most powerful man in Europe, so accustomed to war and conquest that contemporary sources noted it explicitly, was not able to do so in one year (and this was only the case in Anno y o}, such a man seemed just the right patron saint for the Vicar of Christ.

Thus the third Gregory y3q Uttd74 tried to incite Charles Martel against Liurprand on several occasions, although the two were personal friends.

The Pope enticed him with the separation of Rome from the Byzantine Empire and offered Charles the transfer of the Roman consulship and the rank of patrician. Gregory sent an envoy and two letters to -the loving son of St. Peter", the -very excellent Lord Charles-, imploring him74s. shortly before his death, -to pray to the living and true-
God and by the most holy keys to the tomb of St. Peter.
Peters": -We are in dire straits, and day and night
tears run from our eyes as we have to see how the

Holy Church of God is abandoned daily and everywhere by her sons, on whom she has placed her hope … – Charles Martell, who with his wife and sons belonged to the prayer brotherhood of the monastery of Reichenau dedicated to St. Peter, implored him not to close his mind to the papal request, so that the Prince of the Apostles, the gatekeeper of heaven, would not close the kingdom of heaven to him. The holy chief shepherd also sent the - princeps-

of the Franks -great and immeasurable gifts, as they still

had never been seen or heard before - (Fredegarii Continuationes). And of course the pope did not fail to enclose some scrap iron with Charles Martel - allegedly parts of St. **Peter**'s chains and the 5 keys of the apostle's tomb to diplomatically illustrate his fearful servitude under the Lombards and Greeks. Nowhere was there any mention of any quid pro quo on the part of the pope; only the "lies" of the Lombards and the protection of the Roman Church and its property - -only this is always emphasized (htühlbachcr).

But Gregory 111, who continued his efforts until his death - -At no time before, says a flattered Franconian chronicler, -had anything like this been heard or seen- - appealed in vain to the "sub-king" Charles. The latter, not very devout to the church, related to the Lombards, allied and friends with Liutprand, who adopted his son Pippin and in the following year, at Charles Martel's request,

-(Paulus Diakonus), who had intervened victoriously against the Saracens in the Pcovence without hesitation and with the entire army of the Lombards, remained completely deaf to the first papal call for help and died before he could possibly have risen to the second.

AIS the only one among the ancestors of CarolineB he is condemned by the later church authors, eternally cast into hell, especially, of course, because of the - precaria verba

regis - the systematic diminution of the church property (p. joy). During his lifetime, it all sounded very different - even if he had one of his spiritual relatives, Abbot Wido of St. Vaast and St. Wandrille, who, according to the monastery chronicle Jagd

and war rather than worship - not because of this, of course, but because of a conspiracy **against Charles.** For he was certainly anything but a fundamental opponent of the church. We know of the donations he made to her.'

T HE FLEET OF TONGUES **JACHARIAS** COMPLAINS THE LANGOBARDRN

One month after Charles Martel, in December y9i, Gregory III, who had had himself confirmed as the last Roman bishop by the emperor in Constantinople, also died. His successor was Zachari a6t74*W5 a). And since his repeated incitement to war against the Lombards failed against Charles Martel

When the king of the Lombards was still in power, Papsr Zacharias, a marquis of rare gentleness - who was in reality a cunning man of great persuasion - protected himself from the advancing Lombard king by reversing the policy of his predecessor and joining forces with him.

This was all the easier as Liutprand, to quote the end of the Lombard history of Psulus Diakonus, always relied more on prayer than on weapons. If the Kifche had only just concluded an alliance with Duke Transamund, a rebel, against the Lombard king, she now let Transamund fall and got him together with her previous ruler. Tmnsamund did not stand a chance. Attacked from two sides**,** he surrendered and disappeared into the monastery with his tonsure and cowl.

Pope Zacharias, however, made a pilgrimage with all the pomp of a prince to King Liutprand's camp in Terni to reap the fruits of his treachery. And after a splendid reception and prayers together, he (well-prepared as an excellent expert in the dialogues of Gregory 1 [p. zoq ff.], which he translated into Greek and which bristle with hideous superstition and grandiose miracles) eulogized the credulous and now already age-old

Zacharias was now not only given a castle, but also four castles (Horta, Ameria, Polimartium and Bleda) and their inhabitants in the Chapel of the Savior in Terni; a property which, of course, belonged to the Greek emperor! Indeed, the king made a series of further concessions to the Holy Father, including rerritorial ari, the return of papal lands, other cities and all prisoners. Every bite that Liutprand increased at the papal table, scoffed Ferdinand Gregorovius, cost a piece of land. But the aite king rose from his meal and said with a polite smile that he did not remember ever having dined so sumptuously. But when Liutprand took up the exarchate the next year. 743 attacked, indeed, prepared the storming of Ravenna and, as Exarch Eutychius and the Archbishop of Ravenna asked the Pope for his support, the Pope not only sent an envoy to Pavia, but also hurried to the king himself, who was extremely surprised. And after two masses, one on the eve of the feast of the Apostles outside the city in the Perers Basilica of the "Golden Heaven″ - one the next day in the residence in the presence of the king, on the third day in the palace he once again implored Liutprand to relinquish the exarchate. And finally, albeit after much reluctance, the king, at the urging of the pope, who had recognized the Byzarite emperor as the legitimate ruler in the course of that year, returned the concessions made to him, who in turn, at the pope's request, now gave the Holy Father the two large domains of Nympha and Norma in Latium, apparently in return for services rendered. -The sovereignty of the pope was a great boon to the Church,' commented Catholic Clemens Siemers.

Liutprand died, after reigning for la years, at the beginning ofz44- And when the new Lombard king Ratchis i744W4s1. ordem Lord of Friaisl and one of Liutprand's fellow fighters, saw himself forced, despite his hostile policy, to take over74s the Pcntapolis.

the pope immediately went to his position and here
the tongue-tied man now conferred with Liiitprand as before.

And after just a few days, he had persuaded Ratchis so masterfully that he left the church in August74s , went on a pilgrimage to St. **Peter's in** Rome with his wife and child and soon found himself in a

He crawled into a monk's habit to spend his life in Monte Cassino. His wife Tasia and daughter Rotrudis disappeared into the nearby nunnery of Plumbariola ... Admittedly, this renowned account by the papal chronicler could also conceal the possibility that the king was overthrown and more or less forcibly imprisoned in a monastery, as assumed by Ludo Moritz Hartmann and Johannes Haller, among others, as well as the Oxford historian and high-ranking clergyman John Kelly, who also accuses the Pope of bribery. And is it not all the more logical that Ratchis, after his brother Aistulph lost his life on the **hunt** in the fall of yy6, left Monte Cassitio and took over the rcgentsrhaft in Pavia?'

KAR LMANN'S SWABIAN MASSACRE AND THE CONSTANZ TUMP

The Franconian Karlmann was also in Monte Cassino a little earlier landed ...

Before his death on et. October 7'E, he had divided the power of government between his sons Merchant, Pippin III {the

The younger, the Short) and Grifo. The elder Karlmann had received Austrasia, Thuringia and Swabia, while the younger Pip- pin received Neustria, Burgundy and i rovence. Bavaria and Aquitaine (the land between the Atlantic coast, the Loire and the Pyrenees) were to be under the joint control of both.)his half-brother Grifo aFrer, the son of Charles's second wife, the Bavarian princess Swana- hilt (p. j iq), was not recognized as the rightful heir, was captured by his brothers and imprisoned in a castle in the Ardennes, and his mother Swanahilt was sent to Chelles Abbey near Paris.

Just one]shr after the change of power, the (SVI*73** ^

Boniface planned) dioceses in Hesse and Thuringia743 And744 three large synods in Austrian and Neustria
and the eradication of heresy and paganism.
tum had been decided. In addition, Carlinann and Pipin - both monk students, Carlinann probably educated by Willibrord in Echter- nach, Pippin in Saint-Denis - waged wars on all sides. Both were, as Pope Zacharias said of his "most illustrious sons"(744) • , comrades and helpers of Boniface, indeed, they were under the inspiration of God (inspi- ratione divina). So the Holy Father can also guarantee both of these great men -rich reward ... in heaven"; -because
Blessed is the man through whom God is blessed.

The God-blessing Karlmann f• 74s - in a year in which he gave a6 royal churches to the newly founded diocese of Würzburg - invaded southern Eastphalia,z44 'n Engern, whereby the sword was always followed by the cross: missionaries, sermons, mass baptisms. The final subjugation of Swabia followed in the same year. The diocese of Strasbourg with its monasteries along the Kinzigstrasse, which led across the Black Forest into Swabia, formed a significant bridgehead. A last stand in Cannstatt was barbarously punished by Kaufmann, later venerated as a saint in the Fulda monastery, in the Cannstatt bloodbath: the Frankish troops - the sources are rather taciturn or contradictory - massacred thousands of the (long Christian!) Alemanni ordered to the military show. At least some, if not almost all, of the Alemannic nobility was wiped out, probably on the Altenburg heights. The local aristocracy was replaced by Frankish shires, and the Alemannic nobility's possessions were largely confiscated.

There are, of course, historians for whom the Cannstatt bloodbath was only a "so-called" one, i.e. the nobility of the country, which sounds much better, was at best "called to account", indeed, the whole thing belonged to the realm of the "swaggering gentry" (Büttner).

However, the church was the biggest beneficiary of this "legend".

The diocese of Constance - the starting point of the Christian and Frankish penetration of Alemannia - (Tel- lenbach). Constance, whose bishop had to secure the rule of the Franks, became immensely wealthy in return and became the largest German diocese of the Middle Ages, stretching from Bem to Ludwigsburg, from Walscrtal to Breisach: Qitadrat-4s •••
kilometers in the year *415 Comprehensive and•7 0 parish churches. However, the monasteries of St. Gallen and Reichenau also enriched themselves at the
They confiscated land from the possessed and slaughtered and very soon became one of the largest landowners in Alemania" (Novy).

ln the fall of747 ritr Karlmann, -that holy man- (Abbot Regino of Prüm), allegedly voluntarily resigned by surprise, even though in August of that year -he did everything he could to protect his and
to secure his son's position" (Covenant). He -consecrated himself, **often** tormented **by remorse because of the Swabian massacre, -to** St. Peter" (Vita Zachariae). -He voluntarily surrendered his kingdom and recommended his sons to his brother. Shorn into a monk by the pope, Karlmann disappears into the monastery on Mount Sorakte outside the gates of Rome - 7JO he goes to Monte Cassino, on a Larigobardic mount¡ a step whose religious motivation (verinut-
rightly) of the superior is doubted. -Naked he followed Christ (Regino of Prüm).'[0]

So like Ratchis. E tutti quanti ...

ÉIPPIN III - ^ A GOOD CH RIST" AND "A G ROSS SOLDIER"

Pippin the Younger i74*-y68), who usually resided in the squares of Quierzy, Attigny, Verberie and Compiégne and was already747 ••• called Pope Zacharias -christianissimus-, was also -a sincere Christian" {Daniel-Rops), -completely imbued with the Christian spirit-.
weht- {Büttner). It was not only the cult of St. Martin that began under

f'ippin began his triumphal march on the right bank of the Rhine, and the chapel now became the most important central rite of the empire (Ewig), and the church in general was protected and supported by him.

But Pippin took no notice of Drogo, the nephew who was to rule Austrasia independently. He brutally pushed him aside and waged one war after another - "a great soldier w h o never lost a single campaign of his life against Alemarines, Saxons, Lombards and Aquitania" (Braun- fels). Only in four years of his RCgicrung {y'9. 75 . 759' 7 4)
he did not wage war!

74a Together with Karlmann, he marched against the Alemannic duke Thcudobald,7‹i against the Bavarians, yqq again against Theudobald.7J* s he acquired Septimania, the coastal strip and hinterland between the eastern Pyrenees and Nimes. Towards the end of the
]ahrzehnts he conquered Narbonne, repelled the Saracen occupation, drove out the Saracens, whereby his troops "probably contributed no less to the plundering of this once rich territory than the invading infidels - {Bul- lough). The battle against the Saxons kRlTt** 753 as far as the Weser, a
The procession on which the Bishop of Cologne Hildegar ann 8. Atigusr
fell. In 7f8 he advanced into Münsterland and obtained a promise of loyalty, 3oo horses a year and the admission of clerical missionaries from the badly beaten Westphalians.

In eight campaigns between y6o and y68, he conquered Aquitaine, where he had once set fire to the outposts of Bourges and destroyed Loches together with Charles. Now Pippin breaks down the castles and ruins the country. He burns down Bourbon-l'Archambault, burns down Clermont, countless villages go up in flames. Pippin's eldest, Charles (the Great), accompanies him: a school for life! Year after year, the Franks systematically robbed and devastated the region far and wide - the devastation of these wars was felt for generations to come.

Only with the murder of the unwavering,
worse than any animal, first from place to place, then from forest to forest.

Waifar, the last duke of Aquitaine, was hunted to the forest in early J-'" 768 in the forest of la DoubÎe (near Pêrigucux) and Aquitaine lost its independence for the time being. This gave rise to the suspicion that Waifar, who was being pursued by Pippin's troops, had been killed at his instigation, which is - unanimously - assumed today (de Bayac). Waifar's uncle Romi- stan was also hanged, and Waiter's mother and sister were taken prisoner. Pippin had thus conquered the game territory

from the Loire to the +r ---- s-wonncnand dv GrundTagc

for the later Frankish Empire. -The successor has the heritage Aquitaine as Pippin's greatest deed.

{Mühlbacher). Recorded!" And the many-volume "Handbook o f European History" even attests t o an "empire already pacified internally and externally" since749 !

It was widely expected that Grifo would be well compensated, why St. Boniface, at the end of74› fright, failed to invoke him, - your piety with God the Almighty Father and with Jesus Christ his Son and with the Holy Spirit, with the Holy Trinity- etc., -to help the clergy and priests in Thuringia ... against the wickedness of the heathen"

(paganorum malitiam), - if God gives you the power. But God did not want that. The late Charles, revered there and then as a Saint, had put half-brother Grifo behind bars for six years in Neufchâteau, near the Ardennes, but then let him go, in proven charity. The noble Pippin fed him with a few earls. Grifo was sentenced to

năst to the Saxons - who defeated Pİ '< 74 * ftterlagen, again leading to mass baptisms. Then Grifo Bsyern, the homeland of his mother Swanahilt, drummed up a rebellion, which Pippin 7ss níederschlgeschlagen. And after a Konrakt init Waifar from Aquitaine led to nothing, Grifo7 y j was killed by Frankish border guards in the Alps near Maurienne while fleeing to the Łarigobards, where two Frankish counts

/ielen.'*

THE FOLLOw1'd HARDEST EAT OF THE MiTIE i-A LTER"

Since both of Pippin's brothers were thus rendered unworthy, the ruler sought the royal crown over all the Franks. However, his birthright and the last Merovingian king Childeric III, the privilege of royal blood and divine descent, stood in his way. For his overthrow and usurpation of the throne, the Carolingian Hausmeier needed justification before his Roman Catholic subjects. And where better to get it than in Rome from the bearer of the highest moral authority {SeppeltfSchwaiger)?

The "bearers of the highest moral authority" were for Siegc and victors were always very receptive. Significantly, in their letters since Stephen I, the Frankish rulers - in addition to the assurances of their divine grace (-a Deo institutus-), their divine inspiration (-a Deo inspi- ratus-) - also verbally celebrate their military victories up to the most monstrous superlative: -victor-, "victoriosissimus", somewhat later -invictissimus , indeed, Pope Hadrian I puts everything in the shade with the word he coined, "triumpha- torissimus - - lickspittle!"

So Pippin sent Bishop Burchard of Würzburg, an Anglo-Saxon, and Abbot Fulrad of Saint-Denis, one *of the* leading Frankish politicians, to St. Zacharias at7s• to ask him what to make of the kings in the Pranks' kingdom.

who possessed no royal power: whether this was good or not" (si bene fuisset an non). Pippin thereby proved -his political 5pürsinrt- (Branr\fcls). And the pope probably did too. He quickly grasped the situation and declared that it was better that the king's name should be borne by the one who had power (qui potestatem habe- rer) and not by the one who was without power - the "most momentous act of the Middle Ages" (Caspar).

The Pope recognized the oath-breaking usurper, who had Pippin was appointed king by virtue of this directive, probably towards the end of the year, at an imperial assembly - "according to the custom of the Franks" {secun-

dum morem Francorum) was elected king. A slightly later source speaks of a "vo1lmachr-, almost -an order from Pope Zacharias-. Then, according to the contemporary Carolingian Chronicle, he had him solemnly anointed as the first Frankish king by Frankish bishops, according to the Imperial Annals from the time of Charlemagne, by Archbishop Boniface, thus legitimizing him through an ecclesiastical act of consecration, which did not make him a cleric, but elevated him above a layman. However, Childeric *III,* the *¢ghtful* king, the last Merovingian - appointed king by Pippin (and Karlmann) after Karl Martell had already reigned for years without a king, yq3 in order to take away a pretext for the rebellions of the time - was now said to be "called -fdlsch1ich king" (Annales regni Francorum and Chronicon Laurissense). He disappeared shorn in the monastery as a monk; according to several sources in the monastery of Sithiu {Saint-Bertin). His son Theuderich, the last Merovingian, was shorn and sent to the monastery of Sainte-Wandrille the following year.

Later, the weakness of the Merovingians was exaggerated to the point of nonsense and insanity in order to make their elimination even more plausible. -By the authority of St. Peter, I command you to rebuke this one and send him to the monastery" (tonde hunc et destina in monastetium), as a somewhat more recent source tErchanberti breviarium) tells the pope ldfit. A fictitious word. However, the role of the popes as arbitrators, which began here, became exemplary and devastating in European history. For the papal instruction to elevate Pippin to king, soon issued as an "order", often served as the basis for the pope's right to dispose of royal crowns.

This elevation was unique in several respects. Neither had the **pope** ever been made the arbiter in matters of religion in the Frankish Empire, nor had a king *from a* royal tribe ever been replaced by a man from a non-royal tribe, nor had a king ever been consecrated **by** the church. Theodor Mayer writes about this conception of the state in Carolingian times: -What with

Pippin and Charlemagne in the kingship is clear. It is the conception of kingship as an office that w a s not to be derived from the divine descent of the royal family or from an army king, but was appointed by God and conferred by the pope."

In Carolingian times at the latest, the kingship was theocratically founded, the ruler became -king by the grace of God" {rex Dei gratia), more a form of legitimization than devotion, by which name it is known. -Since Pippin's anointing, the newly revived idea of goxesgnadentum had elevated and sanctified the royal dignity (Tellcnbach). And since Pippin's sons Charlemagne and Charles the Great, all medieval kings have held the new title "Gratia Dei Rex (Francois)", King by the Grace of God.

The king was thus sharply separated from the people, to whose election he originally owed his position, and brought into close proximity to God. In other words, since -God", properly understood, politically speaking, is only ever a cipher for the high clergy and their need for power: to the extent that the king was separated from the people, he was linked to the prince hierarchy, taken into their service. He became their organ, a partner in their office, their creature, a "persona ecclesiastica". God, i.e. de facto the Church, which gradually set the tone more and more, had given the office of king, a n d the more its rheocratic character was emphasized, the more the influence of the Church was strengthened. But their collaboration with the king led to ever greater d i s e m p o w e r m e n t , to the total powerlessness of the people. For it was not the people who were to control the king, but the high clergy. The king was deliberately alienated from the people and stood high above them as -majestas-. The people were no longer bearers of rights, but of duties, absolutely subservient to the ruler, who owed them no responsibility - at least that was the intention of the models established by the hierarchy, even if they only grew in stature over the course of the next decades and centuries." The Cambridge historian Walter Ullmann writes about the

The idea of sovereignty, created by the clergy and shaping our history century after century, in the medieval coronation ordinances: -It is easy to understand that the king's detachment from the people, i.e. the laity, could only be in accordance with the (higher) clergy. The royal turn to the theocratic idea gave the hierarchy the opportunity to intervene in the coronation sphere ... The separation of the king from the people and his assumption into the service of the Church was further emphasized by the king's promised co-rgency with Christ in heaven ... The king's assumption of ecclesiastical service meant that he was neither legally nor otherwise bound to the people: on the contrary, the people were not only entrusted to him - hence the equality of the people with a minor - but also, as the coronation was to demonstrate, had no right to participate in the king's rule or even, which is probably the test, to legally contradict or oppose the king... It is clear that this resulted in great advantages for the king **himself**: he was free from any ties to the people and in this sense was indeed soiiverãn. The flip side, however, is the king's at least theoretically deliberate attachment to the hierarchy that constituted him as king. "

The development outlined here is just beginning.

OrFxxnR RxcirrSBRUCH **AND RENNUN's** vow BvZANZ

In Italy, the Lombards, whom the papacy had brought in so miserably, finally sought to establish themselves through their king AistuĺIph (74 56), the brother of Ratchis. He forcibly continued Liutprand's attacks. First he seized Coitiacchio at the mouth of the Po, then Ferrara, and in his second year of rule he conquered Ravenna almost without a fight· He occupied

the entire exarchate, with the exception of Venice and Istria, the Byzarite possessions in northern and central Italy. Indeed, he vigorously threatened Rome itself when Pope Zacharias had just been replaced there by Stephen II, after another elected pope had died, once again quite suddenly, after only three days, even before his enthronization. (It is, incidentally, one of those popes for whom no one knows how many popes there have ever been. For this Stephen [II] is never mentioned as a pope until the ty. But gradually after that, until the zo., until r96o, as Pope Stephen 11. But since then, all editions of the official Annuario Pontificio suppress him)."

The - correct - Pope Stephen II - or II I75>Wf7)- HS Theologian so well versed that he could quote an Old Testament word as Pauline or even supposed passages of the New Testament that are not in the Bible at all, was moreover, as the Pope's biography boasts, -an extremely courageous defender of his sheepfold". He was lucky as a politician in Tar. First of all, he called on his overlord, Emperor Constantine V, who was bound by the Arabs, to help him against Aistulph for nothing. He was also rebuffed by Aistulph himself, to whom he sent his brother Paul with rich gifts when the Byzantine army failed to materialize. And yet another papal envoy, consisting of the abbots of Monre Cassino and S. Vincenzo on the Volturno, was unsuccessful. Stephen demanded in vain the return of the "lost sheep of the Lord" and "the property to its rightful owners" - the maneuvers of Pope Zacharias of blessed memory towards Liutprand and Rarchis could obviously not be repeated, at least not with the Lombards, who were close to their goal of conquering Italy."

The need was great. In the east, the battle for the images raged more fiercely than ever before. In the west, Aistulph, who had just taken the important fortress of Ceccano on the road to Naples, was pressing for subjugation. He was undoubtedly intent on destroying Roman rule. He tightened the defenses.

The pope imposed the obligation of surveillance and threatened to confiscate all goods **for any dealings with** Romans without royal permission. The pope, less theologically than demagogically gifted, with a suggestive effect on the masses, made a birthright procession in Rome, barefaced, his head strewn with ashes and even carrying the -not hand-painted- image of Christ on his bent shoulders, seemingly entrusting everything to Gort. In reality, he was once again playing a double game. While his envoys in Constantinople were still praying to the emperor for help to free Italy from "the grasp of the son of injustice", about which Aistulph roared "like a lion", he secretly turned to Pippin through a pilgrim. And he, who as -Anointed of the Lord - (Pope) sought to meet him in every way, also immediately sent Bishop Chrodegang of Metz, who had risen at the court of Charles Martel, to

-The pope then sent him back to Rome with two letters. One to Pippin with the admonition: -Fulfill the word of the Lord-, for which he promised him "a hundredfold reward" and eternal life. And a second to -the glorious men, our sons, the great "" teachers (duces) of the people of the Franks-, in which he promised exactly the same - what else could he have promised! Just as he constantly referred to the -protective Pctrus-, the -prince of the apostles-, the -key- keeper of Himine1s-, and of course to the -truste1 of the eternal judge". -Abcr take heed, O sons, endeavor diligently to partake of what we desire! For know this: whoever rides on the other side will be excluded from eternal life."

As was so often the case in the Middle Ages, the sources on these events are sparse, ambiguous and tendentious. But what the pope wanted was clear: war! -Jesus Christ was now the Na- tionalgori of the paws- (Burr). And this again meant: -Fighting for Christ and the Church is assigned to the sick as their historical profession" (Halter). However, as the Franks did not initially react as the Pope had hoped, he set out in the late fall of

7 3 set off in person amidst the lamentations of the Romans. Accompanied by Frankish messengers and an envoy from the Cairo, *he* traveled through the Lombardy region and passed by tears at the audience in Pavia. But neither they nor the rich gifts swayed the king.

Stephen crossed the Alps in his wedding attire in the dead of winter - the first pope to set foot on Frankish soil. At the beginning of January y3q, he met Pippin in the royal palace at Fonthion, near Chalons on the Marne. The Holy Father sang hymns and psalms as he entered. According to the Vita Stephani of the Pope's book, which shows King Pippin in adoration before the new arrival "cum magna humilitatc terrae prostratus-, Pippin, his wife, sons and the optimates threw themselves to the ground before the high priest riding on the palace. The king then softly performed the service of stratagem for him. The Frankish source (the so-called Citeren Metzer Annalen) makes no mention of this. According to it, on the second day the pope and his entire entourage went down in sackcloth and ashes before Pippin and pleaded with tears, on the merits of the holy apostles Peter and Paul, to save him and the Romans from the hands of the Lombards (nt se et populum Romanum de manu Langobardorum et superbi regis Heistulfi servitio liberaret).

This account is hardly invented but, as the examination of other sources shows, is -obviously based on reliable information ... The papal letter is also apparently historical, as later papal letters repeatedly allude to it {Fritze). "And he did not want to rise-, the Frankish chronicler reports, -until the king, his sons and the nobles of the Franks gave him their hands and raised him from the ground as a sign of future help and liberation- (Annales Mettenses priores).

Again and again the Pope spoke of the "State of Blessed Peter and the Holy Church of God". Emperor Constantine is said to have given the bishops of Rome the largest part of Itslia! Pippin, dfl*75 with the consent of Zacharias inthroni-
sized, vowed to follow the -benefit of St. Peter in the

Roman Empire, while the pope soon thereafter, arrogating the rights of the emperor, appointed Pippin and his sons as patricians of the Romans. But the title -patri-
one Romanorum-, which had been led by the Exarch in Ravenna until7i Z, meant an open break with the Roman Empire and the actual
J7tnnung von Byzznz.'

At the Imperial Diet in QUierzy (CarisiaCtnm), i n t h e +P* 754›
Then comes the famous -Pippinian vision- and
Like a wedge, it will divide Italy in the future, separating the north from the south, causing a millennia-long history of unending misery, quarrels and wars - until i8yo fraud and bloodshed. Pippin made enormous territorial promises to the pope, promising him, that is to say St. Peter, no less than a larger part of Italy as a gift: the £xarchate of Ravenna including Isria and Venetia, the duchies of Spoleto and Benevento, the island of Corsica and the entire south of the Lombard kingdom. And he thus gave the Church what neither it nor Pippin had ever owned, but rather was the rightful property of the emperor! Of course, there are no documents or records of this - except in the Liber Pontificalis."

Dxn KuLz AND TRICK WITH Sz. IETER

What motive did Pippin have for this donation of madness? In no less than yo letters from the popes to the Carolingians, from Kerl Martell to Charlemagne, there is not even a hint of a real political benefit, a gain in power, an actual advantage for the Franks - and there was none. Instead, the legendary apostle Peter, supposedly buried in Rome, i s constantly mentioned, superstitious princes, kings and emperors are made to believe in him, and fear is instilled.

The old pseudo-metaphysical ploy, albeit now quite extended, is of course also threatened with eternal punishment.

Immediately behind your pope, so to speak, stood 5t. Peter, who was the actual contracting party here and whose Knit Rome had systematically built up, especially among the Germanic tribes. Around the turn of the g. Peter had become the most important saint among both the Anglo-Saxons and the Franks (dozens of surviving Merovingian documents were addressed to Peter's monastery, around 3o since Dagobert I). Finally, the Germanic tribes venerated Peter as the guarantor of power in this world and in the hereafter, as the great protector and warrior, the gatekeeper of heaven. Even their kings from the most distant lands made pilgrimages to his supposed tomb, and some laid down their crowns and wealth there and clad themselves in cowls.

More than almost anything else, the knit and trick with St. Peter strengthened, if not even founded, the power of the early medieval papacy, the earthly deputy-cretary. At the same time, we know neither when nor where Peter died, nor where he was buried, and everything that is reported about his stay in Rome is nothing but legends and fables {Kawerau). (Cf. II j8 ff.)" Even in the first letters to Karl Marte! -We trust that you are a loving son to St. Peter, Prince of the Apostles, and to us, and that you will obey our commandments in reverence for him." -Do not close your ears to my demand, and the Apostle First will not close the kingdom of heaven to you." - I adjure you by the living, true God and by the most holy keys of the greatness of St. Peter, which we are sending you as a gift, not to prefer the friendship of the Lombard kings to the love of the apostle prince." -We admonish you before God and his fearful judgment." -We fear that it will be counted against you as a sin, and in the same way the Frankish Greats will receive from the Prince of the Apostles the forgiveness of your sins for the crisis of your mother, the churches, from God's hand, a hundredfold reward and the forgiveness of your sins.

eternal life- or, in case of omission, with -the day of the future judgment-, the accountability -before the chair of the eternal judge'- frightened - a permanent carrot-and-stick tactic as foolish as it is successful.^

Pope Paul I, Pippin's successor, once reminded h i m : -You have made it known to us by your letter that no tlt'erred, *no* shinichei and no vcrsprecliion can dissuade you from the love and the vow of fidelity you have made to the Apostle Prince Peter and his deputy, our predecessor and brother of blessed memory, the Lord Pope Stephen.- Yes, he praises him because of his Lombard wars: -All earthly gain thou hast esteemed for dung to be trodden with fife; to please St. Peter, to obey his commands with

rizer power to obey, that is *close to* your heart."

In short, it was not in the least political, but rather pious reasons that made Pippin a slave of the pope. For however hardened a warrior he may appear to be, when it came to "meraphysics" he was literally a bloody layman, a believer who simply obeyed the -Roman Ora-, kel-- (Twelve), for whom love of St. Peter was the guiding principle. Peter- guideline, whose service to St. Peter was -entirely justified by religious motives" (Tillmann) -a naive, massively sensual thinking man, as Haller says, whom Stephan II", who knew him from daily contact, could promise and threaten: -Don't let me down, and you will not be rejected from the kingdom of heaven or forcibly separated from your sweetest wife!""""

THE THRON ROBBERS AND THE "GORrZ'S GRACE" GIVEN BY THE POPE WAGES TWO WARS FOR THE OAPST

On z8. J-' 754 in the church of Saint-Dents, Stephen II once again solemnly abbathed the majordomo Pippin, whom he had since always called -Godfather-, and his

The two sons Charles and Charles b e c a m e kings of the Franks "by the grace of God" (Dei gratia) in order to consolidate the legitimacy of the usurpation of the throne.

1\It is possible that the pope did not anoint Pippiris Gatiin, perhaps only "esegnct" (benedixit) her, while later the Ganines were also anointed. But Pippin, Stephen emphasized, had been anointed by God himself {or St. Peter). -That is why the Lord - he wrote to Pippin and his sons the following year - has anointed you as kings through my humble self with the mediation of St. Peter, so that through you his holy church may be exalted and the church of St. Peter may be established. Church may be exalted and the Prince of the Apostles may come into his own."

On the one hand, the anointing demonstrated the legality of the Herncher, but on the other hand it made him a -servant of the church- (Funkenetein), it meant -consecration to the service of the Roman churches (Sickel). -The anointed one is greater and more worthy than the anointed one", Innocent III later said. Under threat o f excommunication, the pope forbade the Franks from ever electing kings of other descent and obliged them never to elect a king who did not belong to the lineage destined for the highest dignity, confirmed by the mediation of the apostles and c o n s e c r a t e d by the mediation of their representative, the pope.

Pippin, for his part, swore after this "divine authorization" of his reign to respect the laws, to prevent robbery and injustice, to protect and increase church property. This, of course, amounted to robbery and injustice, as Pippin enforced the payment of tithes to the church as a state law and even demanded a double tithe (nona et dccima) for church property. Everyone should give, Pippin wrote to the Bishop of Mainz, whether he wants to or not {ant vellet ant nollet).

Truly, another -profitable business- (p. 3xö). ln all other respects, all these agreements, oaths, promises, well ccingcbcttet in päpsdifhes Himmelsgeflü- scer, meant nothing other than war against the Lombards. For well over a hundred years, however, since the Merovingian Childeberr II (p. i33 ff.), no Frankish king had fought the Lombards.

As their only neighbors, they could not be accused of any hostile action. The Franks had also been their friends for a long time. They saw them as tribal cousins. They valued them as comrades in arms from the battle against the Arabs. For this reason, the Frankish grandees resisted the Pope's demands almost to the point of rebellion, and some of the nobles threatened to leave the king.

Even Pippin's brother, the abdicated HauSmeicr Karlmaiin, rushed from Monte Cassino at the urging of Aistulph and in the interests of his own sons to prevent the war or, as the papal biographer puts it, to undermine the cause of the Holy Church of God. Karlmaiin made a powerful impression on the Franks, but was disciplined by the Pope and imprisoned in a monastery in Vienne on the Rhone. He was, the imperial annalist elegantly reports, "repatriated" in Vienrie. And it was here in the monastery dungeon that Karlmann died shortly afterwards (when Pippin was already on his way to Italy); while his companions, monks from Monte Cassino, were kept imprisoned for years, his sons (only Drogo is known by name) were shoved into monastery prison - and Karlmann's body *was* not even buried in his native soil but, at Pippin's request, *taken to Monte* Cassino. Only a few years *earlier*, St. Pope Zacharias had shaken hands with the usurper.

born to eliminate the rightful Merovingians, uxd now

St. Pope Stephen 11 gave his own for the definitive elimination of Pippin's own relatives! He provided every spiritual assistance."

The Pope had already received Pip- pin's fundamental and world-historical commitment to the war in the summer of *7J3 ->* -- what was upsetting about the plan was that, at the request of St.

Father's Christians were to be led into battle against Christians, with the earthly representative of the Prince of the Apostles assuring the Frankish greats that Peter and God himself promised them forgiveness of sins, a hundredfold earthly retribution and eternal life (K. Hauck)."

Fippin therefore moved in the summer of zs4. -only for the love of St. Francis.

Pettus and for the sake of God's reward, as he explained, he crossed Mont Cenis with his army, which included the pope, not without a solemn high mass being celebrated immediately beforehand in Saint-Jean-de-Maurienne, the last town on Frankish soil. Pippin also handed over the money that had been given to Aistulph as compensation to the pope. However, he immediately took the Lombard army in the front and back and defeated *it* severely. Thus the Frankish, wrote Stephen lÎ. immediately after the war, -have outdone all other peoples in the service of St. Peter . Aistulph himself narrowly escaped death and retreated to Pavİa with the rest of the army. Don, the Frankish army ravaged and plundered the surrounding area until the invaders were forced to retreat under harsh conditions.

Conditioningeri, an annual tribute ofs- Solidi, made peace. The pope, however, who received what Pippin had committed himself to in Ponthion, did not get what he had promised in Quierzy had promised, drove wciter sum war, which the Franks in between were completely fed up.

No sooner were they home than Aistulph broke the peace imposed on him. And while he devastated the country, stole relics en masse from churches and tombs, completely encircled Rome with his armies and for three months launched storm after storm against the city, The Frankish abbot Warnehar led the defense of the city in tanks, the pope called for supplications and carried the Cross of the Redeemer of the Lateran Basilica in a procession, with the treaty of the Lombard king tšebroche- nc attached to it. The Roman cries for help now boomed tirelessly in Pippin's ear once again, the Holy Father pleaded, implored and pulled out all the stops of his spiritual and rhetorical art, sparing hardly any exaggeration of any kind. Indeed, he threatened Pippin and his sons with banishment in the event of disobedience, a kind of anticipation of the Last Judgement.

In several letters to the king, to the secular and spiritual the army and the entire people, his

• Adoptive sons-, Stephen II. described in words the misery of h1. Peter, the devastated vineyards, the slaughtered children, the

he claimed that the weakness done to the church could not be told by any human tongue, that even the stones could weep over it.

In a ghastly Latin, peppered with biblical phrases and pradicates in the most common Byzantine chancery jargon (from the -honored look and ant1itz- to -your honored)üssige Gnaden- and -von Gott tricfend-, deifluo), he lamented, enticed, warned, with God the Lord, the Virgin Mary, St. Peter of course, with all the heavenly hosts, mariyrs and confessors. Peter, of course, with all the heavenly hosts, the mariarchs and the be- kings, on the one hand to complete the good work and provide St. Peter with his -right-, and on the other hand to think of their -5salvation. -"You and all your officials will have to give an account of everything before the judgment seat of God." - "You will give an account to God and to St. Peter on the day of terrible judgment." - Know that the apostle holds your gift like a promissory bill - "If you obey immediately, it will bring you great reward ..." -But if, as I do not believe, you delay a little ... know that in the name of the Holy Trinity, by virtue of the apostolic office of grace-- etc. etc. -I exclude you from the kingdom of God and from eternal life.

2iiiefzr and probably with the greatest effect, the apostle Peter himself *also* wrote a letter to the Franks¡ naturally just as bad and pompous. And the heavenly porter, too, is protesting, admonishing, commanding, he, too, summoning up the entire paradise of the ever-virgin Virgin Mary, all the thrones and rulers and the whole army of the heavenly militia, the martyrs and confessors, of course, really, it sounded exactly as if the pope himself were writing.

But no, here the apostle spoke personally for the -hei1ige Church, hasten, deliver and redeem them from the hands of the persecuting Lombards, lest (be it gladly!) my body, which suffered for the Lord Jesus Christ, and my tomb, wherein it rests at God's command, be brsudded by them, lest my people, who belong to them, be torn and destroyed by these same Lombards.

be murdered …- And of course St. Peter also threatened me -the fearful creator of all things. And riatüilich he also lured - with eternal reward and endless delights of paradise-. But haste, haste one should. -Hurry, hurry, by Almighty God I admonish and i m p l o r e you, hurry ... -

So the humiliated Franks went to war for a second time 756 with the aim of conquering central Italy for the pope. Pippin moved forward once again, and again only out of love for St. Peter, whom the Frankish warriors had already begun to worship before their battles.

For the sake of forgiveness of his sins, he crossed Mont Cenis, once again defeated the Lombards in a storm from the heights to the clans, the passes to Italy, locked them in Pavia and dictated stricter terms of peace to them there. Aistulph became a tributary of Pippin, i.e. a French vassal. Impressed by the amount of treasures and gifts, the Franks now returned. And the very next year, the Holy Father was able to report to the Frankish king the death of the tyrant, "the successor of the devil, the devourer of Christian blood, the destroyer of the churches; he had been pierced by God's dagger and descended into the pit of hell."

The pope, of course, was all too afraid of Byzantium. He once reported that 3oo ships had sailed from Constantinople, their destination probably Rome and the Frankish Empire. But no< fleet appeared. Nor was there any attack on the new robbery of the Church on the Adriatic, for which the Pope had already asked for assistance, since the godless wickedness of the heretical Greeks was only intended to crush the Catholic Church, to destroy the orthodoxy and the fiberlicfetation of the fathers.

But even more than fear, the Pope had reason to be happy. He was lord not only over the city of Rome, but also over the exarchate and the Pentapolis. zz cities and castles he took possession of to the north and east of the fipenniti. Together with the Ducat of Rome, they formed the Patrimony of St. Peter, the medieval Papal States. Byzantium could have expected, and did expect, that Pippin would give it this territory.

would hand over the keys. Instead, his representative, the Abbot Fulrad of Saint-Denis, went from Orr to Orr, gathered the top members of society as hostages and laid the keys of the Sradttorc at the feet of St. Peter. Pippin had given the territory to St. Peter and his trio of deputies in a document for perpetual possession and rejected the Greek emperor's counterclaims by declaring that this was not done for the sake of a man, but out of love for St. Peter and for the salvation of his soul.

hen."

As late as the 8th century, the grateful clergy called Pippin -David", -5alomon-, "Novus Moyses-. And Pope Paul L praises the Franks as a -holy people-. After all, the Curia now had its state, the Papal States. But like the Roman bishop, every other bishop, indeed every abbot, wanted his -priesthood-. And just as the popes obtained theirs through war and deceit and sought to retain and increase it for a millennium through war and deceit, so too the other servants of Christ waged feud after feud through the ages and, following the example of Rome, presented countless deeds of donation that were no less a lie and deception than the so-called Donation of Constantine."

For since the Franks had only robbed the Church of its power through two great wars for St. Peter, Rome did not want to let the matter rest so unchristianly. It was preparing (or had already prepared) to commit a further, greater crime in addition to the bloody one it had committed: it carried out the war by means of the Frankish sword, by means of a twofold

t)he territorial re-creation enforced by the invasion is based on an apparently ancient legal claim.

i . CHAPTER

THE -CONSTANTINIAN GIFT-

• the forgery, which, of course, is not a criminal offense - the theologian Ksntzenlach'

-The document was probably drawn up in the freedom of the Roman Empire, probably on the occasion of Stcphon II's journey to Franconia, perhaps in order t o make King Fippin inclined to the hoped-for land donation in Italy. - The catholic papal histoeics S-ppeltfSchwaiger'

-Under God's unwavering guidance, without injustice and violence, without lisr and d e c e p t i o n , the head of the church suffered an unbhanging, worldly 8esiti: the material groundlessness and the outward safeguarding of its spiritual **world f1nrrr6ship.- This tHthemed$iCllc, allCrt TatSeChett drCi8t** iris face schlegrnde sentence has one of the greatest opponents dc8 Roman Kntholi8ixmu$ and Papsccums tum author, the jes-i'-n Craf Hoensbro "c£ - albeit in his catholic time. Today, however, no papal servant io.

Forgery has always been the special domain of priests, of all priests, but especially of Roman Catholic priests. Pius XI, one of the most successful promoters of Mussolini, Hitler and Franco, did indeed refer to the Catholic Church as the "pillar and foundation of truth" in his circular on the Christian education of youth. But this, as usual, turns the truth on its head. After all, it is precisely verbcigcn that the papal church, the Christian church in general, is a pillar and foundation o f lies - one of the strongest without a doubt.

Des xAmoi.tsciix MITTELALTER - xis EroORADO xÊERlKALER Fäzsciimc

Christianity has always been falsified, f r o m its very beginning, from the New Testament onwards - as already explained and documented in more than three hundred pages of Old bcidcs: III i. and z. chap.). But just as the Christian ałtertum surpassed the pagan zcit in falsifications, so too did the Christian middle age surpass the Christian an- iike. It is no coincidence that forgery was most freely practiced in the era that is considered particularly carholic, particularly faithful, and which was in any case most dominated by the clergy, the Middle Ages, a period characterized by numerous forgeries and their effectiveness. "In no period of European history are forgeries likely to have played a greater role" (Fuhrmann). According to the assurances of modern researchers, these forgeries are "countless", especially since the forgeries are

falsified documents, saints' vitae and miracle reports -Legion", this -typically Christian society has elevated the forgery workshop to the authority of church and law - (Schreiner).

The pious Middle Ages was such an eldorado for the falsifiers that it was not only possible to claim that there were almost as many false documents, annals and chronicles as genuine ones, but that the medievalist Robert Lopez actually declared that all these documents were considered false until proven innocent. -We regard them guilty until proven innocent …-

When this fine art of forgery culminated can be left to one side. The German classical philologist Wolfgang Speyer, a Christian expert on the subject, says: -In the Greek East during the sixth to eighth centuries forgery was quite properly part of the theologian's profession.- Wilhelm Lcvison held the q. century, Drögereit the xz.)ahr- ahunderr for -the heyday of forgery-, while Marc Bloch considered the period from the 8th to the iz. century appeared to Marc Bloch to be particularly productive for the -'mass epidemic- of forgery.°

Forgeries were made from the French Atlantic coast deep into the Byzantine East and from England to Italy. In the case of the Merovingian charters {not yet critically edited), one reckons with a forgery rate of around 5o percent. And of the surviving documentary texts of the early Middle Ages in general, up to yo 'Zo and more are forged or falsified {Herde). Herde rightly emphasizes that it is difficult to postulate a concept of truth in the Middle Ages that differs from today's, "because even in the Middle Ages there was a fundamental difference between real and true, fake and false". However, this difference was bridged by forgeries of all kinds, -in order to give the
for the sake of 'higher truth'" (Gawlik). And until the High Middle Ages, forgers in the West were almost without exception spiritual. For just as killing was one of the main tasks of the Christian nobility, forgery was almost one of the marginal duties of the Christian clergy - not so much an aporia, as one might falsely say.

forinulated, as a consequence: where *all essence* i s based on lies and deceit, lies and deceit can only weaken.

Clergy and forgeries belong together in the Middle Ages. -It is

It is true that the researchers were almost never laymen - Bos1 writes. And

T. F. Touts declares outright: It was aĺmost the dury of the clerical class zo forge-; the obłicgcriity of a lie-buying, dcr admittedly regarded the lying of others in the presence of their own experts as impudent sacrilege - a special kind of hypocrisy of these spiritual crooks, who even in antiquity could make a virtue out of forgery and hypocrisy, especially out of the Old Testament &trugs-maneuvers, a salvation-historical funkrion. (Even more disgusting are their modern, oh-so-sympathetic fakers).

Froinmer deception, duplicity and dissimulation were permitted in Christianity precisely because the end justified the means, because lying and deceiving for the sake of salvation, salvation and victory was no longer lying and deceiving, but earning. The "pia fraus- only had to be -cum pierate-, only for the sake of the Holy Church, the Holy Faith, the Holy God, inuBte -instinctu Spiritus Sancti" or -per inspirationem Dei-, and everything was already gur. For then falsification, according to Origen, is merely an -economic-, a

-pedagogical" lying. Or, according to St. John Chrysostom, Archbishop of the Church, a "noble cunning", an excellent lie (III i8i If.). Or, as St. Augustine says, -not a lie, but a mystery-, not -fictio- (etdichtung), but

-fi8ura- (expression) of truth. To the lies of the ancient parriarchs, early scholastic moralists and glosøators then immediately developed a game of -rich casuistry- (Schreiner).'

Incidentally, the business so beloved by the clergy was not particularly risky. "One did not put oneself in great danger with a forgery; normally it was not recognized- (Drö- gereir).

For this reason alone, there were no wrong sub-formulas of the "ground of truth" (unless inn Auhrag), but the

most illustrious abbots and chief shepherds: Hilduin, for example, the abbot of

5aint-Denis (8144) and other monasteries, the arch-chaplain of Emperor Louis the Pious and arch-chancellor of Emperor Lothar 1st, also archbishop-designate of Cologne. Or Archbishop Hinkmar of

Reime (8q5-88s), who, among other things, in a fictitious letter from Pope Hormisdas, had his predecessor, Remigius of Rheims, transferred the ecclesiastical supremacy in Clovis' realm, the papal vicariate. Or Bishop Pilgrim of Passau (qyi-9qi), who also falsified in person, but who also had a notary in the chancellery of Emperor Otto lI fabricate useful legends about Quirin and Maximilian and, in order to expand his power and further his career, had a whole series of false documents presented in Rome, in particular false pallial documents of Popes Symmachus, Eugene II, Leo VII, Aga-pct, Leo VII, Agapct 11 and Benedict VI, or Pope Calixt 11 (xxi9,-xxz4), who confirmed with apostolic authority the forgeries that he had had fabricated shortly before as Archbishop of Vienne - -… for the Holy Spirit obliges the deceiver and the liar', as it says in a document of Pope Hadrian III (a. 88J) ... And the Church is the -soul and foundation of truth- (Pius XI).

SOME BISPECTS FOR G EISTIcAL OVERVIEW OF COnCiLACtS , RELiQUiES AND SACRED LIFE

In the Middle Ages, countless clerics and monks used forgeries to gain religious, political, economic and legal advantages for the Church - in short, faith, prestige and money - and forged with true passion in all possible areas of religious and ecclesiastical life.'-

Council texts were forged as early as4 J, falsified entire council acts, all for the sake of the true faith for the sake of it; just as the Trinity was falsified in the Bible, - the most bizarre dogmatic imposition" (Thomas Mann).

During the Sixth General Council in Constantinople (68o/ö8 i), Patriarch Makarios of Antioch attempted to prove against Rome the doctrine of the unity of the will in Christ, the so-called monotheletism, a heresy admittedly also recognized by Pope Honourius 1 (p. 336 ff.), from earlier synods and church fathers. He worked with mutilated, distorted, clumsily found texts, for which he had to spend the rest of his life in a Roman monastery."

Around the same time, church father Abbot Anastasius Sinaita passionately denounced the Monophysites. In particular, he fought against the forgeries of those fourteen calligraphers who, under the leadership of the prefect Severian, united in an entire forgery workshop, forged in the Monophysite sense. But church father Anastasius, a veritable saint of the Catholic Church (feast: zi. April), used the same methods against them and forged completely unscrupulously. Not only that, he described his actions as exemplary, called on those fighting heresy to imitate his method and invoked the words of St. Paul: -"With cunning have I caught you!"

As the cult of the saints continued to degenerate, there began a proliferation of hagiographic frauds, local patriotic and liturgical-cultic deceptions, such as forged relics. There were so many -genuine- cross particles that one could probably have fabricated a dozen, if not more -nhte- crosses of Jesus from them. There were also more than a dozen genuine foreskins of the Lord, which were venerated by their own brotherhood of the holy foreskin, by special foreskin chaplains, festive pro- cessions and high masses in honor of the holy foreskin.

Bishop Benno of Osna- brück (io68-io88) forged an imperial document dated i9. De emb" go3 dated imperial charter of Charlemagne. And in Regensburg, one of the "most interesting writers of the ix. century {-Lexikon für Theologie und Kirchen), Otloh von St. Emmeram {who also exposed his monastery to the influence of the emperor through forgeries}.

of the local bishop), a gznzer tlbertragungsbe- ticht, the Translatio Dionysii* forged, according to which they claimed to possess the relics of Dionysius Areopagita, sciner- seitsselbereiner derbegnadetsten forgers of Christianity and -fiir Jahrhunderten their -Lchrmeistcr" (*47 ff.).[3]

There were also forged "letters from the devil" and "letters from heaven"

In the Middle Ages, and depending on the need, the letters of heaven were used to call for peace or crossroads, also for Sunday sanctification, the founding of a monastery, praying the rosary or

172 f.).

believing in Jesus' creation, etc. {III

Above all, however, all kinds of primitive miracle stories, visions of the afterlife and legends of saints were rampant. Because if a saint did not have a vita, he was at a disadvantage when competing with other saints from a city, a church or a monastery. For this reason, a vita was also needed for these saints and they were simply falsified. Thus the deeds of St. Genoveva, the patron saint of Paris (from whose prayers Attila recoils just as much as a pair of dragons on the Seine, a saint who works stupendous miracles in heaps, including protection against plague and war, eye diseases and smallpox), are probably as much a hoax as the eleven (!) companions of St. Ursula who were murdered by the Huns in Cologne. "The bloodbath is cruelly realized when the ships arrive. In the end, Ursula alone remains. The Hun prince himself desires

them and shoots the refusing Srandhafrc with his

Arrow - But: -Fame and relics spread demonstrably

vom 10. Jh. an.» (Keller)[14]

For example, an alleged passio of Abbot Vincent of León is also falsified. He is said to have suffered martyrdom under the Arian Suebi king Rechila for the sake of his Catholic faith - on March ii, 63o. Rechiła, however, was not an Arian at all, but a pagan and reigned almost two hundred years earlier, between '4- and '4- Ebcn so fdlled is the

Passio of Vincent, Ranimir's alleged successor, who was married to two monks are said to have suffered martyrdom."

In the course of the io. and ii. In the course of the io. and ii. centuries, a whole series of saints' vitae were forged, which belong to the circle of -false -Carols. On the one hand, some better-known carolingcr were made into saints, on the other hand, this family was extended by completely invented saints. The circle of forgers includes the Vita Ermelindis, Vira Bcrlindis, the biography of Gtidula and others, whereby the forgers w e r e , as usual, clergymen or monks.'-.

Now, the *-Irqmme-* (and even the *less lcom-* me) research likes to distinguish between the products of an -unreflective belief in miracles-, which were also historically groundless, completely invented, but invented "in good faith", and the conscious, intentional, the actual falsifications. But even the number of this group alone in the Minel Age
-is unmanageable-, -Lcgion" (Fuhrmann)."

EXAMPLES OF FORGERIES MAINLY FOR REASONS OF POWER AND PROPERTY POLITICS

Bishoprics were also forged almost incalculably for ecclesiastical political reasons, i.e. in the power struggle between the dioceses. They sought to assert rival claims to rank or ownership by fabricating false diplomas or interpolating original ones.

As everywhere in the Christian Church, not least in Rome (DII *6Q ll.),* the lists of bishops were falsified in order to safeguard the apostolic tradition. (For the Catholic "falsification", this gave rise to the -later uncontrolled growth-: NeussfOediger). Very early on, the lists of bishops of Cologne, Tongern and Trier were thus distorted. The diocese of Metz falsely traces its apostolic foundation back to Clemens, the diocese of Mainz to Crescens, Salona falsely to Domnius, a disciple of Peter, Milan falsely to Barnabas, etc., etc."

Forgery was used in the competition between the Spanish bishoprics.

edo and Oviedo or between Barcelona and Mérida or between the French bishoprics of Limoges and Périgueux."

In the year 73*, a famous and authoritative letter of reply from Pope Gregory I to Bishop Augustine of Canterbury was composed in England by Nothelm, the later Archbishop of Canterbury. In it, Pope Gregory grants Bishop Augustine the right to ordain bishops alone. He
also assigns him to the new bishops to be appointed in Britain and places him on an equal footing with the Gallic bishops, especially those of Arlcs."

In Arles itself and in Vienne, the centuries-old
The protracted dispute between the two old rivals for the Gallic primacy led to extensive forgeries of documents and numerous forged papal letters towards the end of the second century. And these were apparently forged under the names of Pius 1 (d. i 3 ?) to Paschal 11 (d. i i i 8) by the aristocratic Archbishop Guido of Vienne - the later Pope Calixt II (i r iii txt), which later led to one of the most sensational "bel- la diplomatica" in the history of research. {It was also the same felling pope, incidentally, who, through a synod of Toulouse on July 8, i i ig, had the secular power intervene for the first time to condemn "Kerzern-, the Petrobrusians)."

Around the same time, forgery also continued in the Archbishopric of Canterbury, where Archbishop Nothelm had already made an appearance in the early 8th century with a forged papal letter. Now the archbishopric sought to assert its claims to primacy against the Archbishopric of York in a dispute that lasted many decades by means of a series of fraudulent papal documents, forged letters, privileges and a forged synodal resolution
the Synod• 79 *'1Rome. The documents submitted to the so-called Holy See were swar iiz3 rejected by it; already

•7 Archbishop William of Corbeil rose to become Papal Vicar and Legate for England and Scotland. And *from* the i3. century, the archbishops of Canterbury were regarded as lcgati
nati of Rome. Supremacy over York had been achieved."

In Germany, in the dispute with the Archbishopric of Mainz, the Bishopric of Würzburg, since Emperor Otto III l g -in), extended its ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the monasteries of Amorbach, Neustadt, Homburg, Schlüchtern and Murrhardt. Bishop Bernward of Würzburg {who was then known as Otto's courtship on the island of Euboea) An-°9si several abbeys allegedly estranged from him - mainly due to his false documents- (Hotz), namely in the name of Pippin and Charlemagne- - so that öorr -*monastica Ute* - *monkish* corpse could be cared forrti ...- (M eyer)"

Forged is a document allegedly issued by the last Carolingian, Lud- wig Iv, the child, on ay.]uni qO7 ZU st. Florian, which awards Bishop Burkhard of Passau the entire Palatinate of Ötting¡ whereby the forger claims not only the Palatinate but also the entire town of {Alt-)Ötting as the bishop's personal property, *[2]

In northern Germany, the diocese of Merseburg was unusually small, even when measured against the insignificant territories of the chief shepherds of Meissen and Naumburg. So the Mer- seburg prelates helped out. Bishop Thietmar von Walbeck (room ioi8), the historian, awarded himself the "royal forest between the Saale and Mulde rivers" by forging a royal charter, whereby he dated the document (in the year*7) "on July 3o. s77 dated. -His love of truth is unquestionable- (-Lexikon für theology and churches). And the Merscburg bishop Ekkehard von Rabil (xai&-zzdo) tried to foist the cities of Leipzig and Naunhof on himself by means of two forgeries, forged in the years iozi and iozz in the name of King Henry II. Bishop Ekkehard also forged a feudal charter in the name of Margrave Dietrich, who had died in izzi and for whose five-year-old heir his uncle, Landgrave Ludwig of Thuringia, was guardian to the best of his ability. Bishop Ekkehard's *new* forgery, which was most probably forged (and dated 1s xo), was met with some doubts by the landgrave. He therefore excommunicated him and his advisors and ordered the

Interdict over the Gauze Land, through which he also obtained the large sum of 8oo marks of silver,[z] '

The founding charter of the diocese of Bremen tart due J h g) was forged, especially for the sake of tithe claims. This forgery was also confirmed by Emperor Maximilian iyiz,
Charlemagne" had given the Brenner KirchC7< Hufen (farms) as a gift. The forged foundation document of the diocese of Bremen - and Bremen had forged sett centuries in order to obtain or retain a right (Drögereit) - then again served as a model for the similar forged charter of the diocese of Verden in the 18th century, which turns out to be an original by Charles "the GfiOÅBn" from7 6. Still within
z6. In the 19th century, the Verden foundation forgery, the so-
The bishopric of Lüneburg, which indicates both the starting point and the exact boundaries of the bishopric, was used as evidence in border disputes with Lüneburg and Bremen."

However, the forged founding charter of the diocese of Bremen apparently already had a model, namely the founding charter of the diocese of Halberstadt, which was also forged in the 15th century. This was the founding charter of the diocese of Halberstadt, which was also forged in the second century and largely corresponds to the Bremet forgery in terms of content and expression. Bishop Bernhard of Halberstadt {ÿ2.3-968) successfully defended himself against the founding of an archbishopric of Magdeburg, whose archbishop Giselher (q8i-root) in turn reacted to the founding of the archbishopric of Gnesen with a document forged in the name of Pope John XIII. According to this document, Archbishop Adałbert of Magdeburg was allegedly granted primacy over all archbishops and bishops in Germania in 1968.

The centuries-long battle between the archbishoprics of Cologne and Hamburg also produced many falsifications.

For example, two documents in the names of Popes Gregory IV and Nicholas I were forged for Hamburg, more precisely the pallial parts of these so-called Hamburg foundation documents. The scam provided proof that not only the first

Bishop and Archbishop of the Sradt, Ansgar, 83z and 83a had received the right to wear the pallium, but also all his successors for all cites. A deed of Agapet II for Hamburg was also recorded. And here, too, it is a question of an interpolated passage on the conferral of the pallium and its extension

"On the Naclifolgrr. A forgery of Pope John XV's document for Hamburg. And again, the purpose and motive of the forgery was to obtain the papacy. A founding charter of Louis the Pious for Hamburg and a papal charter of Gregory IV were also forged."

Most of these documents were probably forged by one of the most famous medieval bishops of the North, Archbishop Adalbert of Hamburg-Bremen (•°43—toys). Emperor Henry III, one of the most powerful German Adalbert was even intended to become pope, if you like, after the deposition of three popes at the Synod of Sutri. But Adalbert did not want to become pope. But otherwise, the "great man of God", who had his hand shaken by twelve bishops at his ordination, almost systematically produced documents from previous emperors and popes with the help of imperial scribes who were in his thrall, in order to play his claims. No wonder, since he was so fiercely eİn that degree I will *spare* no one, neither myself, *nor the* bishop, nor the held, nor the church itself, so that my bishopric will finally be freed from J-ch and made equal to the others."

All these are only brief references, which could be multiplied a hundredfold, to forgeries mainly from episcopal curiae, not including the equally *îzlÌ ø* ungcheure abundance of forgeries from monasteries.

The privileges of the popes, for example, for monasteries in the Viking kingdom are almost all later forgeries" (Lcvison). And, of course, the religious also forged for the most diverse motives, not least in order to evade the influence of the bishops. In Regensburg, for example, the

{at first mostly belonging to the higher nobility) monks of the

The monastery of St. Emmeram fought doggedly with the local bishops throughout the High Middle Ages, and from the ii. to the *3 JThe city was also granted imperial independence and subordination t o the papal see.

Perhaps even more often, a monastery forged to the detriment of the other. In Thuringia, for example, under Abbot Ernst of Reinhardsbrunn Monastery in the middle of the second century, forgeries were fabricated. In the middle of the second century, Abbot Ernst of Reinhardsbrunn Monastery forged documents to protect the territory against a neighboring Cistercian monastery.

Sometimes, however, people cheated not only for their own house, but also for many others. This was the case at Reichenau Monastery, where in the early iz. In the early 15th century, a monk with the approval of the noble Abbot Udalrich von Dapfen systematically forged old documents, of course also pro domo, but also for the monasteries in Kempten, Lindau, Stein am Rhein, Einsiedeln, Ottobeuren or the Buchau nunnery, primarily to restrict court and military duties and to secure the free election of abbots.

A notorious forger, Petrus Diakonus, worked as a librarian and archivist in the famous monastery of Montecassino in the 17th century, whose wealth he secured and increased through constant fraud. However, he not only forged the entire Casinese collection of documents, but also produced entire "originals", he falsely reworked other works and even gave false authors for various hagiographic and historical writings. Forged rulers' diplomas were fabricated in Montecassino, as were forged papal documents.

It was very similar in Fulda. Around the same time, the monk Eberhard created the two-volume chartulary of his monastery there, which contains all of the monastery's material up to the middle of the second century, papal deeds, immunities, property titles, income registers, often interpolated, but sometimes completely fake. The industriously copying Beiiediktiner forged this Codex Eberhardi so passionately that Engclbert Mühlbacher could say that forgery of documents had become a mania with him.

den". Of course, there was an old tradition of falsification in venerable Fulda. Three hundred years earlier, the monk Rudolf and the monk Meginhard had already forged various tithe privileges (in the names of Pippin III, Charlemagne and Pope Zscharias) in order to free the Archbishop of Mainz from tithes on his own estates.

All these and a thousand other Catholics, bishops, abbots, monks, priests and laymen, therefore, falsified. And why not, when, to repeat, this whole religion was founded from the very beginning on lies and deceit (III z. and z. chap.), especially when the papacy in the Middle Ages literally led the way with the greatest falsification of all time, setting an example for all that followed?

ORIGIN AND SIGNIFICANCE THE - CON STANTINE GIFT COW"

If all is not deceptive, the so-called Donation of Constantine, a triumphant act, so to speak, of the countless folds of future times, was created at the beginning of the fifties of the fifteenth century in the papal chancery of Stephen II. Century in the papal chancery of Stephen II, probably even before his departure for the Frankish Empire. According to Walter Ullmann and other scholars, "there is every indication … the papal chancery was the birthplace of the forgery". For a legal title was needed for the hoped-for territorial possession. Thus, the pope apparently removed all of Pippin's concerns at the Imperial Diet in Quierzy with the help of the **forgery.** He presented a document that identified St. Peter as the rightful lord and owner of Italy, the pope as the holder of imperial rank, indeed as the emperor of the Evening Land (Brackmann), and immediately drove the Franks to war against the Lombards (p. j83 ff.)." Template for the Constitutum Constantini or the Privilegium

sanctae Romanae ecclesiae, as it was usually called in the Middle Ages, was the Legenda sancti Silvestri, the legend of SiÍveøter, which was probably also written in Rome at the end of the yth century. The Legenda sancti Silvestri, the legend of SiÍveøter, which was probably also written in Rome at the end of the 6th century, was one of the most widely read novels of Christianity in Rome, England and the Frankish Empire, which always preferred to suppress and falsify historical facts with the help of this literary genre. As early as the beginning of the 6th century, the fable was used in the so-called Symmachian falsifications {11 3øx ff.).

According to the legend, which circulates in various versions and has been circulated in hundreds of manuscripts, Emperor Constantine was a persecutor of Christ and was afflicted with leprosy as punishment. However, Pope Silvester cured the emperor and baptized him in Lateran. In fact, however, Constantine was known not to have persecuted Christians, but to have favored them immensely. He was also never afflicted with leprosy and was not baptized by Silvester, but by Bishop Euseb of Nico- media, an Afian, and only on his deathbed in years

337. While Pope Silvester echO^ 3ii had died. The church celebrates his feast day on December 3i. December, as if to commemorate what it owes to St. Silvester at the end of each year)." The deed by means of which the papacy usurps the ecclesiastical state and legally establishes its world dominion. has completely reversed the existing situation: the Roman emperor, who previously understood the Christrntum, is now subordinated to the papacy in terms of constitutional law. The hoax is presented as a decree from Constantine 1 to Pope Silvester I, with the date, personal signature and the ruler's promise that he himself had laid it down at the tomb of St. Peter. In gratitude for his miraculous healing from leprosy, he donates an entire continent to Pepsi and his successors.

Not petty, really, the great emperor.

He ficrally grants the Roman the primacy over all priests, over the patriarchates of Antioch, Alexandria, Jerusalem, Constantinople and the whole world. In order to prevent any doubt about his rank, he grants the pope all the insignia of kai-

dignity and granted him imperial rank. The pope was to b e head of all churches and high priest of all priests in the world; indeed, Constantine gave him and his successors the imperial palace on the Lateran, the city of Rome and all the cities and provinces of Italy and the entire West {omnes Italiae sen occidentalium regionum provintias, loca er civitates). The emperor himself, the lengthy document concludes, wanted to transfer his empire and his power to the "eastern regions". For -there, where a glorious empire has been established and the capital of Christendom founded, it is not appropriate for the earthly emperor to exercise his power--. Anyone, it is said, who is presumptuous enough to change the decree will be banished by him. Thus the foundation stone was laid for the centuries of struggle between emperors and popes."

At first, Rome used its supetgangster piece only very discreetly (Hadrian I was apparently the first pope to refer to it in his correspondence with Charlemagne). Although the memory of the first Christian fia iser and his exemplary behavior were cherished, the Constitutum Constan- tini was not used as a legal document, and the document itself was never used. Apparently, they also recognized the Holy Fathers as forgeries; "it is to be assumed that the popes were aware of the illegitimacy of the documents contained in the
C. C. was aware of the claims made. This is the only way to explain the fact that things were always t a l k e d around without calling them by their right name - Tschlesinger).

It was only around the middle of the qth century, when the falsification had already enjoyed a certain validity, that it was recognized as legally binding and was incorporated into another major ecclesiastical falsification, the Pseudoisidoric Decretals, and finally into numerous other canonical law books. The enormous territorial policy of the papacy, which gradually subjugated principalities and entire kingdoms, had its legal basis in this falsification; indeed, the "ecclesiastical state" that exists today is still based on it.

Apart from a few exceptions, however, the deed rested for three years.
hundred years essentially unused in the archives of the

Clergy. (Our oldest text is found in the manuscripts of the Pseudoisidoric Decretals, written around 8yo). Of course, after many generations had become accustomed to the idea of a huge gift and the Gaurierei had gained enormous authority, it began to play a major role, the popes insisted on it until the late Middle Ages, condemning, covered by the fraud, anyone who represented themselves in the curial property or somehow favored this. The so-called Reforin papacy in particular invoked the fraud! His letters quote long passages from it. Leo IX emphatically supported dltrriit 1 5 i)
also the papal primacy; whereby the pope from the donation
The emperor had, so to speak, only returned to God what he had received from him. In this way, Leo avoided the appearance of the church's dependence on imperial grace.

The "Donation of Constantine" came to its full significance through Pope Gregory VII, under whom it became a recognized part of canon law. And in the war against Henry IV, who never took into account the papal ambitions derived from blatant injustice, Gregory called for the election of both the first opposing king, Rudolf of Swabia
*W7 The second king, Hermann von Sslm xo8i, also took an oath that included recognition of the clerical oath.

Pope Urban 11 (ioß8-ioqq), who was beatified in 1881 and was the initiator of the first crusade with the mass slaughter in Jeru- salem, declared Corsica and the Aeolian Islands to be the property of the Roman See by virtue of the 'Donation of Constantine'. However, numerous clerical writings also used the 'Donation of Constantine' for ecclesiastical claims, which went so far that, according to Honorius of Augustodunum, a scholastic of the early i century, Silvester also received the assurance from Constantine that no emperor was allowed to **rule the Roman Empire** without papal **approval.**

Here, even the emperor became the donor, so to speak - and at the same time a vassal of the pope, the empire a papal

Fiefdom. A conclusion that papal jurists also drew from the fictitious donation. Popes such as Innocent III and Gregory IX also derived territorial claims from this. Gregory IX (-**7 **df} even claimed with regard to them that Constantine had declared it appropriate for the pope to rule not only over souls, but also over all people and things on the entire globe, according to which there simply had to be no independent empire, but rather the pope had to be the true emperor.
was emperor."

The Constantinian Donation was played off against the Salian and Hohenstaufen empire to great effect. For the Roman Church, it was in first place among all aiiitel- alteilichen Kaiserprivilegien. Until the i5th century. This forgery, whose impact could not be overestimated and without whose help Rome might never have achieved its later power and importance, was generally regarded as genuine. It was not only used in the great struggle of the medieval papacy against the empire, against Louis the B a y e - - l*3*4‘
*347)the actual legal basis of the church, for many circles.
but Sigismund, as future emperor iq33, had to swear to preserve the "Donation of Constantine"."

However, some clever minds were not fooled.

THE **REVEALING OF** FACsciiwc

Whether Charlemagne already considered the Gonstimium Constantini to be forged cannot be proven; there is much to support this very recent hypothesis. For the first time, Emperor(f 3-*ooz) in a quite unusual and singular act towards Pope Silvester II {99 xoo3) the -constanti-
In a famous diploma drawn up by Bishop Leo of Vercelli, the head of his Italian policy, Otto, the slave of the apostles and, according to the will of the apostles, gave the apostles the right to the gift.

God the Savior of the Romans imper "tor augustus" gave the eight counties of the Pentapolis to the pope or "St. Peter" for administration, but out of his own generosity and in contempt of the false documents and forged documents. Otto III expressly called the - Constantinian Donation - a work of lies and forgery (documen- *ts* ... inventa). This emperor rejected all claims based on it as unjustified, and he recognized all the popes' lies as fraudulent. And it was no coincidence that he moved his residence to Rome itself. Otto III was therefore well aware of the huge fraud perpetrated by the Catholics. According to his own report, the pope had no right to territorial possession.

In the extraordinary document of the year xooi, he makes the concession to his former teacher Gerbert of Reims, Pope Silvester 11, at the beginning: -"We proclaim Rome as the head of the world", only to add that the splendor of the Roman Church had long been obscured by the recklessness and ignorance of the popes. -For they not only sold what lay outside the city and alienated it from the see of St. Peter through much mismanagement, but they also, and we can only speak of this with deep sorrow, squandered the property in this our royal city to the whole world for money, They stole from St. Peter, St. Paul, even from the altars, and, *in an attempt* to rebuild, they only caused more and more confusion. They twisted the papal laws and humiliated the Roman Church, and some popes went so far as to claim most of our empire for themselves. They did not ask what they had lost through their own fault, they did not care what they had wasted in their folly, but when they had scattered their possessions to the four winds through their own fault, they rolled their guilt on our empire and laid claim to other people's possessions, namely to our and our empire's property. For they are lies, invented by themselves (ab illis ipsis inventa), from which the deacon johannes with the epithet

or stubby finger- wrote a document with golden letters find under the name of the great Constantine a tremendous fraud (sub titulo magni Constantini longi mendacii teinpora finxit).

Otto then talks about further forgeries of the church. According to this, Charles II the Bald, the Roman Emperor and King of the West Frankish (French) Empire7 transferred imperial possessions to the Pope, a -better Charles-, meaning Charles III, the Fat, *Roman* Emperor and King of the East Franconia {German) empire, chased him away. -It is also a lie that a certain Charles gave our empire to St. Peter. But we reply that this Charles was not at all in a position to make a legal gift of anything, since he was driven out by a better Charles, robbed of his kingdom, deposed and destroyed. So h e gave what he did not possess, and he gave as he was able to give, namely like a man who has acquired unlawful property and cannot hope to remain in possession of it for long. We despise all these false deeds and forged documents." In the second century, the followers of Amold of Brescia also recognized the fraud. One of his pupils, a Roman by the name of We- zel, declared to Frederick Barbarossa soon after his election as German king i i yz the entire -Constantinian Schen- In the 3rd century, even such an extraordinary ruler as Emperor Frederick 11 doubted their authenticity. And when, at the turn of the modern era, chief shepherd and -hurrier Alexander vI. (i4s>--5 3) demanded that Venice hand over the Adriatic islands to the Apostolic See by virtue of the Donation of Constantine, the Venetian emperor sneered that His Holiness should obtain the document for the Constitutum Cönstancini and then find a note on the reverse side stating that the Adriatic Sea belonged to the Venetians.

At that time, people who trusted this document were still being burned, such as a certain Johannes Dränsdorf after a

Interrogation iJn5 in Heidelberg. And even today, scholars still deal w i t h the whole complex of forgeries and swindles of the Middle Ages **under the euphonious heading of -past** faithfulness-, calling the swindlers -excellent persons, known for their conscientiousness-, and even the criminals of the -Con **srantirtische Schcnkung- figure there after all as the -more-** worthy fa1scher- (Aries)."

The Council of Florence iq3q had still not raised any doubts about this "gift". And although in the following year the humanist Laurentius Valla, himself a papal secretary and canon at the Lateran, finally uncovered the Betnig in a pamphlet published by Mrich von Hutten iqiq, Roman Catholic historiography only admitted the forgery in the iq. century. However, the privileges made therein were repeatedly and emphatically challenged by the papal curia almost up to the present day."

In the 8th century, however, the popes did not yet rule this ecclesiastical state as independent lords; neither in the time of Pippin III nor his son Charles, indeed, some w e r e not even masters in their own house, the Lateran, as was drastically demonstrated at the beginning of Charles I's reign.

i . CHAPTER

KARL I., THE SO-CALLED GREAT, AND THE PEASTS

• . stin hair was gray and beautiful, 6oin face radiant and cheerful. His appearance was always imposing and dignified ... **He was devoted** to **the Christian** religion, to which he had been t a u g h t from his youth, with great reverence and piety {sanctiuimc ei cum sumtna pietate coluit) ... He went to church in the morning and in **the evening, also** in **the** afternoon and in the evening.

-The most important interlocutors of Kbrl throughout his life were the pop--* B° <^fln. The eighth of Karl's pnlirics, around which everything else revolved, was his relationship with the Holy See - it is a sign that, as long as Karl lived, **any conflict with the Papal See could be** avoided **... He never won the trust of the Italian people. He always remained ... an enemy.**
Wolfi$anfi, **BraunfeJs***

-The Council of the Merovingians was a good one, but the Xaroïingian Empire was a goctes dominion . . .-
Œristophet Dawson'

-The image of the Carolingian Go'cesstaat gained an impressive gcsrhiosscnhcit in the Carolingian Fricdcnidee, in the AUff46SU^B of the Rcirftcs as torpus christianurn.- Eugen Ewig'

• Now the hour of the Man of Providence had come: -The victorious and rich early arms of Charles the Great were still the guardians of Catholic doctrine - to keep his subjects in line, to establish the *concordia pacis* among the h$cnsehen **. ..., these are the ideal goals of this mighty ruler, under whose government not a single year passed without war. But these fdcalc correspond perfectly to a**

The view of his betufee.-Which is not recognized by the Yerstand
The enthusiasm of the masses, which cin Augustus, cin Constantine, cin Wapoleon - and we must add, cin Hitler? - was burning in bright flames for Katt.- Daniel-Rops'

K I MINA LEXZES SE AT THE PRESIDENTIAL COURT DURING THE CHANGE OF POWER IN THE FRANKEN REICH

Pope Stephen 11, who generously granted himself the -Constantine Donation- at the decisive moment, had died on z6. April ys7G died. He had left behind a significantly larger territory, which initially remained in the family. For Stephen's successor was his younger brother Paul I. l757W<z). the second pope from the House of Orsini to grow up in Lateran. Rr sought to continue the policy of his predecessor and
Pippin - whom he also called godfather (spiritualis comparer) as godfather to his daughter Gisla - against the Lombards again.

The childless King Aistulph, who had died in a hunting accident, had in the meantime been succeeded by the Duke of Tuscany, Desiderius lziM7s)· The pope himself had, by mutual agreement
I was worried about the Franconian abbot Fulrad, as Desideriiis seemed to be the easiest of all the supporters to get the better of. A mistake. The new king did not want to see his kingdom squeezed and suffocated between the Franks and the Papal States. Fearing a conspiracy between the pope and two of his vassals, the dukes of Spoleto and Benevento, Desiderius set his army in motion, marched through Roman territory and ravaged it with fire and sword.

Paul I asked Pippin for support. He was not stingy with flattery. In a series of letters, he celebrated him as
-New Moses", -New David", ¢savior of the Holy Churches, yes, as "foundation and head of all Christians-, the Franks as

"new Israel", -holy people-. He and the Romans, he affirmed, wanted to hold on to their friendship with Pippin until the last drop of blood. He repeatedly reminded the king of his promises and implored him not to leave his work unfinished. One letter of complaint and cry for help followed another. In an open letter, he, who called himself a mediator between God and man, urged Pippin to accommodate the Lombard king, to return the hostages he had requested to his illustrious son De Siderius, while in a second secret letter he urged him to resist the Lombards, imploring Pippin to keep the hostages - the usual double standard of the Holy Fathers.

It was obvious: Pope Paul, to whom his official biographer attests an even greater than usual inclination towards leniency, wanted another war against the Lombards. But Pippin was tied up elsewhere, by the Saxons, by several campaigns against Aquitaine, whose duke Waifar he was hunting. And he sought to cross a Lombard-Byzantine understanding.

Paul I had barely closed his eyes on z8. On June 8,7$7. , he had barely closed his eyes when a violent conflict broke out in Rome, as so often before {II 3. ch. and337 1. The very next day, Toto, the Duke of Nepi, head of a powerful family, entered Rome with his armed colonists and had his brother Constantine, a layman, elected Paul's successor. The foundation of the ecclesiastical state, the increased power of the papacy, made
this ebeti became more and more interesting for the nobility.

iConstantine seized the Lateran, received the necessary vows and made it to the papacy in six days. He was solemnly consecrated in St. Peter's Basilica by the bishops of Palestriiid, Albano and Porto.

Lightning careers of this kind are unusual, but they existed earlier and later, and you could still become a saint, even a church teacher, like Ambrose. Eight days after his baptism, he was a bishop and did not even have the knowledge of a

educated laymen from Christentu1 401). Tarasius, Empress Irrne's secret secretary, was elevated by her y8q from layman to patriarch of Constantinople and also made a saint. Nikephoros underwent the same rapid mctamorphosis in 8o6 at the hands of the emperor of the same name and is still revered as a saint today. Patriarch Photius, a nephew or great-nephew of Tarasius, also passed through all degrees from layman to patriarch within five days. And in the eighteenth century, Leo VIII even rose from *layman* to *pope in a single day* - and is now considered the rightful pope.

Constantine (7 7 7 1. although unlawfully elevated, nevertheless sat unchallenged on the infamous throne for thirteen months, managed the affairs, ordained clerics and also presided over a holy synod. But then he succumbed to a conspiracy of invaders, including Priniicerius Christophorus, his chancellor, the head of the papal civil service, and his son, Sacellarius Sergius. Placed under house arrest by the pope, they both wanted to create a spoletini*" .7** '•
monasterium, to the monastery of the Redeemer (St. Salvator) in Rieti. They vouched for this with an oath, but fiohen to the Lombard king. With his permission, they gathered auxiliary troops in Rieti, and at the end of July 768 they marched to Rome under the leadership of the priest Waldipert. A city gate was opened for them there and bloody street battles ensued, **during which** a traitor, a creature of Christophorus, the church archivist Gratiosus, stabbed Duke Toto in the back. Pope Constantine fled from one church to another until he and his closest followers were captured and imprisoned. Now Waldipert, Desiderius' husband, hurriedly fetched the priest Philip from St. Vito's Monastery on the Esquiline and shouted: "Philip Papa. St. Peter told Philip to become pope." As a candidate of the Lombard king, he was to defend his policies. Parts *of the* nobility and CJerus also recognized him, *but* Chrisrophorus, who had arrived somewhat late, did not want a "representative" appointed by Deside- rius. He sided with the Franks and immediately forced the resignation and return of the

Philip, who was already a festive pope, to the monastery and brought his own husband, Stephen, a friend of the Franks, to the papal chair.

On August 8, the Christophorus tool Stephan It7 3*77^l z and soon began under the long-serving, unscrupulous and cunning Sicilian, a divorced partisan of Paul 1, wild acts of revenge.

Cardinals and bishops had their tongues and eyes cut out. They dragged Constantine, who had been deposed and dethroned, through Hom in a ridiculous outfit into a monastery dungeon and crippled him there under the leadership of the church archivist Gratiosus, murderer of Duke Toto (later himself a duke). His closest followers were persecuted with no less bloodshed; they were *murdered* and blinded. Bishop Theodore, who supported Pope Constantine to the end, had his eyes and tongue gouged out and was locked up in the monastery at Clivus Scauri, where he died brutally in terrible pain. Toto's brother Passivus was imprisoned in the Silvester monastery, blinded. All their property was confiscated. They also made short work of the priest Waldipert, the long-bard agent who had brought the priest Philip to the papal throne. Although he sought asylum in a holy place, the church of Santa Maria Maggiore, he was thrown into a latrine dungeon, mutilated and murdered along with the image of the Madonna he was clutching.

Easter• 7*s was celebrated in the Lateran. Apart from the Italian Franconian bishops were also represented for the first time. As His Holiness himself emphasized in the opening speech, this underlined the ecumenical character of the event. The blind Constantine was brought before and interrogated in the basilica on April iz. and 13. At the first session, he confessed to having more sins than there was sand in the sea. He threw himself into the dust, but explained that the Vnlk had forcibly made him pope because it was not happy with Paul's harsh rule. The next day, at the second meeting, he changed his tactics. He cited precedents for the consecration of non-spiritual bishops.

even married people. He cleverly invoked the example of two of the most distinguished Italian princes of the church, 5crgius of Ravvina and Stephen of Naples, who had also been elevated as laymen. Sergius himself was among the synods. (And Scrgius' successor, Michael, was again promoted directly from layman to bishop and resided as such in Ravenna for over a year).

Truths are unpopular in holy Rome {because one has -the truth-!) So the fathers who held the saints now also pounced furiously on Constantine, slapped the disempowered man, knocked him down and pushed him outside the church door. The records of his pontificate were burned, including those of his election - even Stephen had signed them. But now the pope intoned a Kyrie eleison and everyone threw themselves to the ground and confessed that they were sinners because they held communion with the damned Constantine. Condemned to life imprisonment, he probably spent the rest of his life in a monastery dungeon. Time and again, Christians are shown to be merciful; not every enemy is killed immediately. Live and let live, yes, here too. Catholic Seppelt fails to recognize this. He speaks of "savagery", a criminal lack of restraint, even in church circles; they did not rise above the level of the barbarians. And worst of all, these outrages did not remain a one-off aberration, but are merely a prelude to the wild and raging party battles that raged so often within the walls of Rome in the centuries that followed. At the Lateran Synod of 7öq, the lay population was excluded from the papal election, at least in theory. In the first centuries, however, the entire congregation, including that of Rome, elected the bishops. At that time, any layman could become a bishop immediately, until the mid- d-- 3 century - if he is honorable, hospitable, truthful, compliant, not greedy, and was a good husband and family man. Really so much of a good man. And right up until the eighth century, the entire congregation in the West elected the bishop. Now, however, the right to vote was restricted to the Roman clergy

and the people were completely excluded. It only retained the right of acclamation and the right to sign the electoral decree.

Moreover, Stephen III's policy focused on preventing any understanding between the Franks and the Lombards, whereby he first took one side and then the other. First he insulted the Lombard king Desiderius, then he praised him. He changed his views and allies as required (Catholic Kühner). He complained about Desiderius to the young Frankish rulers, Pippin's sons Charles and Merchant, first writing to both brothers together, then to each separately. Indeed, he eventually conducted secret negotiations with Kaufmann against Charles' policies.'°

PArSr STEPHAN III.
DRIVES TO ANOTHER LxxGOBARD WAR

On Pippin's death in September7 68, Charles had the greater The northern part of the inheritance, stretching from western Aquitaine up to the Frisians and Thuringia, was given to the ten years younger, presumably i6-year-old Karlmann the smaller southern region, Alemannia, ElsaB, Burgundy, Provence, Sepfima- nia and the other half of Aquitaine. The border thus stretched from the southwest to the northwest across the entire empire, so that both heirs participated in the Frankish core territories of Austria and Neustria, in the Germanic east as well as the Roman west; although Charlemagne's larger share literally clasped that of his brother.

Both brothers had already been anointed by Pope Stephan II in Saint-Denis at7ₛ4 and appointed patricians of the Romans. At their ceremonial accession to the throne on q. October 7 . -mDay of the first bishop of Paris, St. Dionysius, one of the French national saints and•4 emergency helpers, they were once again anointed kings by the bishops, Charles in Noyon, Charles in Soissons."

There were early differences between the imperial heirs, at the latest since Kaufmann did not take part in the defeat of the two Aq"- - *< 7 q - Charles' first war -with God's assistance- (Imperial Annals). According to Einhard, Charles endured his brother's unfriendliness and jealousy with great patience, much to everyone's astonishment.

In Rome, however, the increasing **discord between** the two Frankish princes caused Stephen ItI, who had come to the throne through pro-Franc curiae, above a11 through the powerful Christopher, considerable unrest. Indeed, this grew into considerable excitement when he learned of a marriage plan between the Frankish and Lombard royal house8 . For the Franks, who had long been friends with the Lombards until Pippin's wars for the pope (p.3 3), were supposed to be f- fellows of their neighbors in Icalia, according to the Holy Fathers. remain. Stephen's concern was all the greater, however, as the Lombards were already linked to Bavaria through the marriage of Desiderius' daughter Liutperga and Duke Tassilo, and Desiderius had also requested the hand of Charles' sister Gisla for his son Adelchis {who soon became a nun, however).

Nttn even the godly Pippin did not have the title of a -He wanted to lead a "defensor ecclesiae" and was content to help the Pope "on a case-by-case basis" (Deér). Indeed, he had avoided any further conflict with the Lombards in **his** final years after the battles fought in Italy for Roman power. No amount of papal complaints and war cries could persuade him to flee. And *after* his death, the queen mother Bertrada pursued a programmatic policy of peace, seeking a good relationship with both the Lombards and the Bavarians under their duke Tassilo. With the strong approval of the Frankish greats, she arranged the marriage of the young heir to the empire, Charles, to one of the daughters of the Lombard king Desiderius for the sake of peace (Annales regni Francorum). {Her name is unknown, but she is often called Desiderata due to a misunderstood source; other histoticians call her Ermengarde or Bertrade).

Stephen 111 and his Primicerius Christophorus, this development caused enormous excitement. The pope reminded the two Frankish princes of their and their father's promises to -stand up for the righteousness of **St.** Peter with all your might at all times. He summoned them again -on the day of the Last Judgement and St. Peter himself exhorts Etich through them to help the holy church to its rights without delay. Above all, however, he reminded the young rulers of their vow to always have the same friends and enemies as the Pope, which excluded any association with a criminal people -who would not refrain from attacking the Church of God and devastating the Roman provinces-.

As King Desiderius did not hand over the goods claimed by Stephen, the latter did everything he could to prevent the **planned** marriage and peace and reconciliation between the two peoples. In a long and spiteful epistle, he recalled the oaths of the kings as children, declared the intended marriage to be a diabolical inspiration, denigrated it as "concubinage" and solemnly forbade it, invoking God and the authority of St. Peter. He simply called it madness that the famous, all-conquering people of the Franks and their glorious, illustrious royal house wanted to defile themselves by fraternizing with the faithless, horribly stinking people of the Lombards, -who are not even counted among the number of peoples {quae in numero **gentium** nequaquam conputaiur) and from whose nation the evil of the outcasts (lcprosorum genu5) emerges-.

The curial sources, the Libcr Pontificalis and the famous letters of the Codex Carolinus (9p in the only manuscript known today, all undated and almost exclusively papal letters) were used as the basis for the

The Lombards were continually disparaged in letters to the Carolingians between the years tlftd739 79*l. * etzefl. At the time, they were vastly superior to the Romans in terms of education, culture and art (albeit with the help of Byzantine artists). They also proved to be highly active in religious matters, now unfortunately Catholic, by founding

Churches, xenodochies and monasteries. -A wave of ecclesiastical foundations swept across the country ... We cannot ... We cannot even list them, as there are too many- (K. Schmid). The pope, however, **asked** Charles whether he wanted to become the 5father of lepers, and implored the princes of the Franks by heaven and hell not to take home any of Desiderius' daughters, but to help the Roman Church to recover its goods.

The Holy Father never tires" of the young Frankenherr- to put pressure on the other: "you are both risch 'Sotte's will and advice ... It is truly not permitted to you ... You must not ... Remember also ... Remember ... Nor forget ... Remember also ... Remember rather …- etc. The friend of the pope's friends had to be the Frenchman and the enemy of his enemies. Consequently, there could be no alliance with "the perjured people of the Lombards", who "have always been the enemy of the Church of God". In this way, the supreme Roman rhetorically thunders his way to the finis operis: "Therefore the prince of the apostles, St. **Peter,** to whom the keys of the kingdom of heaven have been given by the Lord and the authority to loose and bind in heaven and on earth, exhorts you through me, and likewise **we** adjure **you** together with all bishops, priests, abbots, monks and the whole clergy, by the living and true God, by the terrible Day of Judgment, by all the divine mysteries and the holy body of the Apostle Peter, that none of you marry the daughter of King Desiderius. Nor give your noble sister Gisla, beloved of God, to the son of Desiderius in marriage. Neither should you marry your wives. Rather, remember what y o u promised St. Peter. Rise up vigorously against our enemies, the Lombards, and force them to take the property of the Church.

It is abundantly clear what the Holy Father wants: war, war, war. And to make his letter more effective, he placed it on the alleged tomb of St. Peter, took communion over it, affirmed

he ordered it to be sent off in tears, and threatened after such a spell - finis coronat **opus:** -If anyone should dare to act **against** the content of this incantation of ours, let him know that he ... ... with the shackle of finathem, cast out from the kingdom of God and condemned to burn with the devil and his terrible hellish pomp and the rest of the gods in eternal fire. i'"

This is the first time that a Frankish king is threatened with anathema. Nevertheless, Charles married the Lombard princess. He married her in Mainz on Christmas Day* 770. However, he married her, presumably for personal and political reasons a year later, which caused the death of her **father** King Desiderius, but did not drive the Pope to protest (however much the indissolubility of marriage is otherwise emphasized!) Stephen, who in his epistle also reminded us of the inferior nature of women in general, of sinful Eve and the loss of paradise, also insisted that both kings were already legally married, which was only true for Charlemagne and wrong for Charles. His union with Himiltrude, who had already borne him a son, Pippin, was not a legitimate marriage. His subsequent marriage to the granddaughter of the Alemanni ruler Gotfried, the Swabian girl Hildegard, who was only three years old - St. Charles bore her a child almost every year in ten years of marriage (p. q8), then she died - was also not in accordance with canonical principles, without the Church, as far as we know, ever raising a n y objections.

This could hardly have bothered the popes. But the loss of their goods! Stephen felt abandoned by the Franks. And almost while he was still plotting against the Lombards, inciting them and calling them foul names, he was already making contact with them. If he had just defamed them with all disgust, denied them any humanity, had always called their king "despicable", he was now quick to do the s a m e .

The abrupt turnaround was all the easier for Holiness as there was a Longobard party at court, headed by the cam- paigner Paul Afiarta (bought by Desiderius with donations) and

stood Duke Johannes, Stephen's own brother. At the same time, the leaders of the Frankish faction were sacrificed to the new policy. The Roman high priest did not hesitate to betray the prime rius of his church, Christophorus, and his son, Sacella- rius Sergius, to whom he himself owed the papal crown, to the Lombard king, as they were now only in his way. In agreement with the French count Dodo, an emissary of Karlmann, both attempted a violent coup, the seizure of Aharta, perhaps even *an* assassination attempt on the pope. They broke into the Lateran, but Afiarta escaped, and the pope f)oh to the Lombard king, who had come to Rome as a pilgrim to pray at the apostle's tomb, with his ar¡nee as a precaution, because he naturally wanted to liquidate the Francophile faction in the Curia.

Afiarta's followers dragged Christophorus saint son to the city wall, tied the victims to stakes and gouged out their eyes and tongues in front of an enthusiastic crowd. St. Christopher died three days later in the monastery of St. Agatha. His son Sergius, who was also blinded, disappeared first in the monastery ant the Clivus Scauri, then in a dungeon of the Lateran, until finally the blind man w a s beaten, strangled and buried, still half alive, with the help of high church officials and Pope Stephen's brother.

The same pope, however, who had once called Dcsiderius so wicked, now praises Queen Bcrtrada and King Charles as his savior, having saved him from the nefarious plots of Primicerius, from his complicity with Count Dodo and his diabolical whisperings. The same pope who only a few months earlier had called the Lombards a stinking race, from whom leprosy emanated, now writes to Bertrada and Charles that "with the help of our son, the Lombard king Desiderius, who was free to fulfill *his* pledges against the *Holy* Peter, we succeeded in saving ourselves and our clergy to St. Peter's". And emphasizes again a few lines later:

--Believe us, without the help of our illustrious Son, the King

Desiderius, we and all our clergy and all our faithful would have died - to conclude shortly afterwards:
-With our enlightened and God-protected son, King Desiderius, we have come to terms in the best peace, in which he has fully recognized all the rights of St. Peter, which will also be communicated to you by your envoys.

However, Stephen III soon felt rudely abandoned by the Lombard king and therefore severed his relationship with him. A complete change in the political situation occurred,"

WiD THE LEGAL ALLEGIANCE OF KARL AND BEcINN ENDING WAR FOR OEN MA PST

Shortly before 5tephan's death at the end of January77s Wäi Karl mann (after making large gifts to churches and monasteries, especially Reims Cathedral and Saint-Denis Abbey) on q. December 77*, on the edge of the beautiful forests near Laon, where he loved to hunt, died at the age of twenty. Presumably this was the only thing that prevented a fratricidal war that was already looming. But Charles, perhaps 5o years old at the time, now became the ruler of the entire Frankish kingdom: through a blatant breach of the law, b y disregarding the right of inheritance of the sons of Kaufmann, both still in their infancy, and thus usurping his b r o t h e r 's kingdom through a rapid seizure.

After all, this was a centuries-old Christian tradition in East and West. And it also ran in the family. After all, Charlemagne's grandfather Charles Martel had already eliminated the immediate heirs in a very similar way - incidentally (also?) as a bastard. And had not Charlemagne's father Pippin also eliminated the sons of his ahge-
thanks to his brother Karlmann7s‹ 2U monks and thus bury their right of inheritance in the monastery forever? (p. 38y) Europe's founders. Europe's great role models. Europe's ideals!

Charles hurried to Corbény (a Carolingian palatium on a

old Röinerstrasse between Laon and Reims), just a few kilometers from the place where his brother died, and summoned his great ones. Most of them came, not least the bishops and the bishopric, and recognized Charles' coup d'état. Of those who submitted to him, the imperial annals name Bishop Wil- har of Sedunum {Sion in Valais), the priest Folrad and many other clergymen in first place. Because force takes precedence over law - especially for the high clergy, as soon as great force promises them great advantages. Rcchtsbrnher Karl became the successor to his brother's kingdom, which, as was euphemistically said, was his by right of accretion. He was elevated and anointed. But even later, his documents deliberately avoided even mentioning Karlmann's name. Gerberga, Harltnann's widow, fled with her children to the court of the Lombard king Desiderius,

We know almost nothing about Karl's childhood and youth, strangely enough.

ingly. Even the year of birth is disputed. Often - according to the supposedly more reliable annals - the a. Apr' ¡4* BlS birthday is mentioned. The new, as yet unfinished lexicon
of the Middle Ages- means (in accordance with the supposedly second-ranking sources): -well a. April 747-· The date comes from an old calendar of the monastery of Lorsch.

For a long time, Charles was also regarded as an illegitimate kirid¡ it was believed that he w a s born before his parents married, from a marriage of peace with Bertrada, the daughter of Count Caribert of Laon, a liaison that only became a full marriage years after his birth. Among other things, this could explain why he did not get along with his brother Karlmann, who was certainly born in wedlock. It would also explain the conspicuous discretion of his biographer Einhard, who writes in his "Vita Karoli Magni- : -I consider it pointless to tell of Charlemagne's birth, childhood and youth-zeir, since no one has ever been told about it before and no one is alive today who could provide information about it." Although Einhard did not write his famous book until fifteen to twenty years after Charlemagne's death, he himself had already spent twenty years before his death at the

Court of the king, who was about fifty years old at the time. He soon became part of **his closest family circle, was his dinner companion and confidant,** and it is quite improbable that he heard nothing about the childhood and youth of his hero, that not even his date of birth should have been known, especially as Einhard himself says that Karl spoke almost incessantly, that he could be called talkative. Paulus Diakonus also reports that Karl liked to talk about his ancestors. However, the imperial annals only mention him by name once before his accession to power (at the anointing by Stephen II in Saint-Denis754: p. j83 f.).

However, it is not only recently that people have been claiming a marital

Pippin and Bertrada's bond at the birth of their elder son. In any case, this fits better into the picture of the

• Father of Europe-, not to mention his holiness, of which the popes at the time could not have dreamed.'*

Stephen was succeeded by Hadrian I (w-*7ss); no pope has ever ruled for so long.

Hadrian, from Roman nobility, was already the third pope from the house of Colonna, and for his part was again a keen supporter of his relatives, who were to be found in the highest positions of state. His uncle Theodate was Primicerius of the Church and held the titles of Consul and Dux. His nephew Paschalis also became primicerius under him (the office was roughly equivalent to that of a modern-day prime minister). And his nephew Theodore also gained great influence in Rome.

In terms of foreign policy, Hadrian broke with the Lombard-friendly policy of his predecessor. He immediately took up arms against Desiderius, who "refused" to hand over certain cities and territories to the Roman Church that it owed to Pippin's predatory wars. On papal orders, Paul Afiarta, a supporter of the Lombards, was immediately killed on his way back from their court by Archbishop Leo of Ravenna, who had him tortured and executed."

The destruction of the heads of the Lombard curia faction again brought threats and attacks from the Lombard

King against the Papal States, with the obligatory arson, plundering and murder. The pope was once again called upon to help, not unlike under his predecessor Stephen II, who had once summoned Charlemagne's father Pippin to Italy. And just as Pope Stephen had insisted on war then, Pope Hadrian did so now. He reminded Charles of Pippin's example. He repeatedly admonished him, urging him -to stand up for the service of God and the saintship of St. Peter and the consolation of the Church against Desiderius and the Lombards, -to redeem the h. Church of God". In this way, he paved the way for Charles' intervention in Italy, who then moved south five times, a prelude to many future Italian campaigns by German emperors.

Hadriari himself, perhaps the more skillful diplomat compared to Charles, who sought to extract what could be extracted rebus siC stantibus, only saw the Frankish king (who liked to make promises but repeatedly delayed his trips to Rome) three times. Now, of course, since Desiderius also made himself the advocate of the rights of Gerberga, the widow who had fled to him, and of Karlmann's underage children, whom the -great- uncle had deprived of their inheritance, of half of the Frankish kingdom, he, after extensive consultation with his grandees, overran the Lombard kingdom, the only remaining Germanic kingdom besides the Frankish, yy3 with a (further) war.

-There was no room for both of them in the world (Cartellieri).

Why not?

Einhard reports: -'At the request of Bishop Hadrian of Rome, he [Charles] undertook the war against the Lombards. This had already been undertaken by his father Pippin at the urging of Pope Stephen, not without great difficulty, for some Frankish grandees, with whom he usually consulted, spoke out so decisively against his project that they even openly declared that they would leave the king and r e t u r n home."

Once again, the Franks had no great desire to pull the chestnuts out of the fire for the Holy Father. This time, too, they were inclined towards peace. But the king obviously gave the

Rash. His former father-in-law had been arrested and had become downright dangerous since he had made himself the protector of the Carthaginian orphans, not only defended the right of inheritance of Gerberga's children, but had even tried to persuade Hadrian to anoint the merchant's sons as kings. It was no coincidence that Charles first captured his brother's family in Italy and rendered them harmless. The Popes, whose troops, raised everywhere, were nowhere near able to match the might of his opponents, were eager for Charles' intervention. However, as he did not want to appear to the world as the evil uncle that he was and not as the instigator of a war against the Catholic Lombards, he made mediating offers to his co-religionist and ex-father-in-law, of course in the hope that they w o u l d b e rejected, which is what happened.

And while the negotiations were still underway, Charles had already established secret contacts with opposition figures in Lombardy. A large part of the clergy there in particular was in his favor, including a particular opponent of DesideriuS, the founding abbot Anselm of Nonnntola (formerly Duke of Friuli), who is also said to have facilitated Charles' victory. Of course, while he was still waiting for the negotiations to fail, the Franconian had begun military preparations for war. His soldiers in Gcnf, including bishops, abbots and the clergy of the court chapel, were unusually numerous and splendidly equipped. After dividing them into two contingents, an army division under his uncle Bernhard, an illegitimate half-brother of Pippin III, advanced over the Great Bernhard, the "Jupiterberg", and the main force with him over Mont Cenis into Italy.

If it was already difficult to bring countless wagons and thousands of horses over the Alps, it seemed almost impossible to take the passes closed by the Lombards, the clas- ses, "the doors of Italy -. Walls, outworks and towers closed off the valleys *from* mountain to mountain. Wedged between steep mountain walls, the Franks were trapped, their cavalry even less maneuverable than the infantry. Charles crouched sullenly in his

He held one war council after another with his military officers, negotiated with the Lombards and r e p e a t e d his demands time after time - to no avail. Then a deacon sent by Archbishop Leo of Ravenna {p. q i) led a scara francisca (the 1-eibwache; under Charles apparently a greatly enlarged special unit, a so-called elite mippe, the only one that w a s constantly armed) over a high, undisturbed mountain ridge - still centuries later, when the ruins of these fortifications still stood, called the "Frankensteig". The surprised Lombards, who suddenly saw Franks at their backs, believed themselves to be surrounded and fled their positions in a hurry - a feint frequently practised by Charles in the Saxon War, against Tassilo of Bavaria and against the Avars; Seppelt speaks of "the art of a general"." The aggressor first conquered Turin, then his army surged across the Po Valley t o w a r d s Pavia like a great river of iron (5törmer). He united it with the other army group and at the end of September captured the strongly fortified Lombardy capital, which was well supplied with soldiers, weapons and food. Kaf1 prepared himself for a prolonged siege and sent for his children from his distant homeland, not least his fourteen-year-old wife Hildegard. And when he heard that Desiderius' son Adalgis had sought refuge with Karlmann's widow and children in Verona, probably Italy's strongest city at the time, he immediately set off there with a small troop.

Either through treachery or regular surrender, Verona was immediately captured. The relatives, Gerberga and her sons, fell into Charlemagne's power, but the sources are silent about their fate. At best, they ended up shorn in monasteries - as had the dear relatives twenty years earlier by father Pippin (p. 385); in any case, they disappear from history, and with them the last hereditary claims to almost half of the *Trankenrcich* also disappear. Gure Frankish *Fnmilienrrndirion.* Adalgis escaped to Epirus at the last moment and, with a stopover in Salcrno, fled to Byzantium the next year when Charles appeared in Rome. *[1]

HADRIAxs BESIT2G IER AND KARL'S ROBBERY OF THE LOMBARD KINGDOM

The winter passed. While one Lombard city after another fell in the north, the pope secretly sought to take the Lombard cen-rreti of central Italy; place after place came under his control. He was particularly interested in the Duchy of Spoleto, to which he appointed a prince in the very same Hild#brand, who then renounced him and recognized Charles as his overlord, who in turn no longer conceded Spoleto to the Pope. For the time being, however, the Papal States underwent a considerable expansion.

In Pavia, all domestic animals had slowly been consumed and people were now hunting rafters and rats. But despite famine, epidemics and many deaths, the city had still not fallen. So before Easter, Charles set off for Rome to pray at the tomb of the Prince of the Apostles or, as it says in Einhard's so-called jahrbücher: -to perform his devotions there- - a phrase repeatedly used by the imperial annals, as if Charles always traveled to Rome to perform his devotions there in particular.

There was a triumphant reception on Holy Saturday, the a. April77 d. Thirty miles from Rome, the commanders of the papal army greeted the Frenchman. Near the city, schoolchildren stood with palm and olive branches. Even crosses, as is customary only with the highest gentlemen, the attentive host sent to meet the guest. He in turn approached the Holy Father in front of St. Peter's, in whose annex he then lodged together with his grandees, licking the stairs, kissing every single step like every man. At the top, surrounded by cardinals and other dignitaries, the grateful BoB embraced him while the priests sang:

•Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord! Holding hands, they walk together to the (supposed) tomb of the Apostle and kneel down reverently.

This was followed by solemn church services on Sunday and Monday and certainly no less impressive banquets and working lunches.

(Charles, a very moderate drinker, helped himself to the meal, as he was accustomed to doing: it is said that he devoured a whole hare with four or five side dishes to fill his stomach). But now, at the pope's request, he also sang the royal lands, invoking the pope, the king, the Frankish army. -Christ, hear us!" sang the later saint in a high-pitched voice, whom Hadrian constantly honored with the designation "The Great", which went down in history as an epithet.

On Wednesday, April 6, in St. Peter's Church, the host then got down to business, which also determined the rest of his pontificate.

Urged by the insatiable pope to fulfill the promises that his father, like himself and his brother Kaufmann, had once made to Blessed Stephen in the Frankish kingdom, he renewed them.

Charles issued the "Pippinian Donation" from the year$_{ZS4}$ He had his chancellor (notary) Hithcrius draw up a document of the same name.

The document was issued during the much-disputed endowment of Quierzy (to the extent specified in that donation), i.e. he bequeathed to St. Peter about three quarters of Italy (Kelly). The document was then signed by him and his grandparents, first on the altar of the apostle, then on the alleged tomb of the apostle, the Confessio b. Petri. Petri, it was placed with his own hand, so to speak, on St. Peter's {missing) corpse, "for the firm security and eternal memory of his name and the kingdom of the Franks .

But heaven knows what their rulers might have been thinking. In any case, Charles was no longer like his father Pippin. He knew how to distinguish between the fipostelfürsren and the **pope**, even if he promised generously but did not deliver as much as the Holy Father would have liked. Because he, like almost every Holy Father, couldn't get enough.

Of Hadrian's fifty-five surviving letters, forty-five are addressed to Charles the Great and concern almost exclusively the papal possessions, the fear of losing and the greed of gaining; all naked and disgusting. ("My kingdom is not of this world.") He wanted to

large pieces of ltaiien. He insisted not only on Tuszicn, Spoleto and Corsica. He also claimed territories that had never belonged to the Lombards but were Byzantine, such as Venetia and Istria - a "hitherto unheard-of audacity" (Ullinann). He even threatened to ban the emperor for territories that were not returned!

Hadrian, whom even a council in Paris in 8z5 called "unjudgmental, but faithless, senseless, inappropriate, reprehensible", probably already invoked the -Constantine Donation- by exhorting Charles to emulate the example of the great ruler who, under Pope Silvester, had bestowed so many gifts on the Church. -The documents relating to this agreement are kept in our archives in the Lateran," he explained to Charles. But when the latter demanded fiinblick, wanted to see the testimony of the donations, the pope refused the voltage."

Instead, Hadrian - his master in begging (tH. v. Schubert) - sent complaint after complaint, he sent envoys, he demanded everything that in the course of time emperors, patricians and other God-fearing people had asked of the apostle Peter …– etc. Believe us, great most Christian king, good most exalted 5ohn, and have full confidence that salvation and immeasurable victory will be granted to you unceasingly by Almighty God, provided that you fulfill your promise with faithful zeal in love for the Prince of the Apostles …– etc. etc.

In reliance on Hadrian's biographers, Hisrorians long believed that Charles had essentially extended his father's donation and conceded most of Italy to the pope, leaving out only the Lombard kingdom in the north. -Today this opinion has been abandoned" (de Bayac). But later it was even fabled that Charles had bequeathed part of Saxony and the province of Westphalia, which he had already converted to Christianity, to St. Peter in Rome - to which Pope Gregory VII once referred as a well-known fact." After the capture of Pavia, which was fiercely defended and fought over, at the beginning of J--* 774, SlCh Karl, who was now • King of the Franks and Lombards and Patricius the Roman-

himself the Iron Crown and turned the Longobard Empire into a Frankish one. There was neither an election nor an actual coronation. Everything happened by its own power, through the -Law of the strongest. The empire remained, only its king disappeared, and he took his place - the first -personal union- in the history of Europe (Fleckenstein).

The robber moved into the palace of his former father-in-law, passed through the enormous Lombard royal treasure and donated some of it to his 5chfans. However, he himself only held the north of the empire. He handed Ravenna and Rome over to the pope, although here too he considered himself to be the proper ruler.

Desiderius, however, the last king of the Lombards, was captured by the Franks together with his wife and daughter, Charlemagne's wife, and disappeared in a Frankish monastery {probably in Corbie), where he lived for some time.
should. In any case, he disappeared forever.

The Lombard kingdom was wiped out. Only one of its duchies existed relatively independently until ioyo, the southernmost and largest, Benevento. At the beginning of the 8th century, the time of its heyday, it extended in the southern parts of Calabria as far as Cosenza and Apulia as far as Taranto and Brindisi and at times even reached as far as Chieti in the north. The country was vast, fertile and had a well-developed trade system. Internally, its dukes possessed almost as much power as the Lombard kings in their realm; externally, they were almost autonomous. Initially held in loose dependence on the Franks, they then had to p a y them ever greater tribute. After Lombardy had been plundered by Charles, after the king had been removed and his son expelled from Italy, Duke Arichis 11 of Benevento continued the Pave kingdom to a certain extent. He was a particularly art-loving man, inspired by Deside.

*^ *T5! !-rufirner* and married to his *e6enco* clever and clever daughter Adelperga, who now took the title princeps and had himself crowned.

The Franks were hostile to the Beneventans. In order not to

price, they wanted to come under their heel like their neighbors in the Duchy of Spoleto. As Charles was already slaughtering Saxons again, Arichis hatched a plot against the king and the pope with Desideius' son Adalgis, who had fled to Byzantium. He was to lead an uprising with Greek troops, which was also supported by the dukes Hrodbaud of 5riaul, Hildebrand of Spoleto and Reginbald of Chiusi. But before iTian could strike out in the mar-^77s , the matter was betrayed, Pope Hadrian alerted Charles via the impending attack -by sea and by land", using tongues very similar to those of Pope Stephen to Pippin twenty years earlier. - Therefore I beseech you by the living God and the Prince of the Apostles to hasten to our aid without delay, lest we p e r i s h .

Charles, having just returned from a victorious Saxon slaughter, hurried off to the next, albeit short, war in the winter of the new year77 despite the unfavorable season. With a selected troop, he crossed the snow-covered Al- pen, struck down the uprising that had only broken out in Friuli -and subjected the whole of Italy to his rule, Einhard reports laconically. The Lombard Hrodgaud, the leader of the rebels, appointed Duke of Friuli by Charles himself, fell in battle. Charles punished the conspirators severely. Many were banished, their possessions confiscated and even more hostages taken than before. The victor threw garrisons into the rebellious cities and largely replaced the Lombard "duces" with Frankish counts (et disposuit omnes per Francos: Annales regni Francorum). Collaborating Lombard counts remained in office, but after their death they too were replaced by Franks.

The robbery of a second land (after Fiquitania), whereby the Frankish empire now extended as far as the Adriatic, enabled the robber to bind the Frankish fetal nobility to himself through new land grants (and enslavement of previously free peasants), which were particularly sought after by medium-sized landowners. Charlemagne transplanted many Franks and Alemanni to the south, who there

(sometimes also in subordinate positions) ruled the country. In any case, a thoroughly Franconian aristocratic class had ruled Italy ever since.

As late as the post-Carolingian period, between 888 and q6z, the of around *96* counts and margraves of Northern Italy known from this period can be traced back to7‹ * ordalpine families. This is also assumed to be the case for most of the others.

the church. This would not have been possible within the original borders of the empire without huge encroachments on the church's land holdings. After all, Charles had to grant them the right to the ninth and tithe as compensation for land they had already occupied. Now, however, numerous smaller landlords and fiddlers in Italy, especially in the politically and militarily most important places, were also given estates, where they were treated as vassals, as -The 'Custodes Francorum' took over occupation duties for the king and then had to deal with Avars, Greeks and other peoples.[e]

Charles also sent bishops and abbots to Lombardy. After all, the Frankish regional church benefited in particular from the victorious Kritg.

The most important bishoprics soon came to Franks, Bavarians, Alemartans: Pavia, Spoleto, Verona, Vicenza, Vercelli, Mai- land, etc. The encroachments were such that even Pope Hadrian feared being ousted by a Frank. Wrongly so. Apparently, the entire area under papal sovereignty, the former Papal States, was strictly observed and avoided when vassals settled t h e r e (Hlawirschka)."

Frankish monasteries were also heavily favored, for example Karl immediately after the collapse of Lombard rule, the monastery of Saint-Martin in TourS received the island of Sirmione in Lake Garda, the entire Val Camonica and property near Pavia. Saint-Denis received the Valtellina valley, the abbey of Saint-Maurice d'Augaune and estates in Tuscia. Above all, however, the figgressor wanted to secure the Alpine passes through such donations. Thus, Sainr-Martin now controlled the connection to the pass systems of the ßünden Alps

and the Eastern Alps. Saint-Denis all the Graubünden passes. Later, the monasteries of Fulda, St. Emmeram (Regensburg), St. Galilee and Reichenau acquired possessions in Italy and had them administered by their monks. {After the loss of these Italian possessions, the monasteries tried to maintain their claims to them for a long time by forging many documents)."

The king also endowed certain Italian monasteries, placing them at the service of his economic and sometimes military interests. It is striking that he did not endow any of the houses located in the interior of the country, but that all the monasteries he endowed were located at strategically important points, whether on the borders of the empire or on major connecting roads" (Fischer). He thus privileged the monastery of S. Dalmazzo in Pedona, which secured the Colle di Finestre and Col de Larche passes leading into the Frankish Empire, as well as the road to the Ligurian coast via the Col di Tenda. Just a few days after conquering the Lombard kingdom, Charles bequeathed the entire area between the monastery and the sea, including the Montelongo, to the monastery of Bobbio, as the monastery controlled the roads from Piacenza to Genoa and from Pavia to Tuscany. The situation was similar with donations to the monasteries of S. Pietro in Brugnato and Montamiata southwest of Chiusi,
S. Antimo, Farfa and others"

Even a famine that prevailed in 77s during the invasion of Italy benefited the Xirche. Many people had sold or even given away their possessions for far less than they were worth, and made themselves dependent on their wives and children. All this was declared null and void by a capitular of Charles dated zo. February 77ö declared all this null and void - except for the sales and donations made to the churches! They were to be decided by the royal court together with the bishops and counts. Yet it was precisely the king who accused the bishops in Italy of greed."

ENOUGH **IS NOT ENOUGH**

There is something disgusting about Hadrian I's constant greed for possessions, whose empire was not supposed to be of this world. He is constantly asking, begging, exhorting (often at war with grammar). He fiichi Scgenswünsche for Charles' wars. He pays compliments, thanks for a letter that is soothing. He misses (his7 *)
never to call Karl -Gevatter". But there are few letters Hadrians, in which he does not insist on the real thing, the one thing that is notrut: possession.

Time and time again, the Pope comes up with truly embarrassing he returns to this with great piety. Indeed, he is not afraid to remind the king of the Donation of Constantine, of -the pious Emperor Constantine the Great of blessed memory, through whose generosity the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Roman Church of God was elevated and exalted-. And as (allegedly) then, so the Holy Father would have it again, the holy Church of God, namely that of the blessed Apostle Peter, shall now also under Charles sprout and rejoice and be raised more and more in the long run, so that all peoples who hear of it can cry out: O **Lord,** keep the King and hear us on the day when we call upon you; for behold, a new Constantine, a most Christian emperor of God has arisen in these times . . ,- etc, For has the papacy
-"The Carolingian culture of the time also liked to stick to what was written, even if it was forged, such as the Donation of Constantine, which also belongs to Carolingian culture" (Braunfels)."

The Holy Father wants patrimonies in Tuscia, Spoleto, Benevcius, in the Sabina and on Corsica. He wants to see Charles, just as his predecessor Stephen wanted to see Charles's father **Pippin**, so that he could then so magnificently beguile him and chase him to two wars.
ness. The Franconian had already announced his (second) visit to Rome for Easter7 . - As the earth thirsts for rain, so we were in expectation of your honeyed highness," said the Pope.
disappointed. The honeyed Hoheir led military campaigns to Spain and Saxony. So the Romans could only press on,

-to regain Terracina and at the same time conquer Cajeta, Naples and our territory in Neapolitan.

Hadrian was only allowed to receive the Frank with his wife and children in Rome at **Easter** y8i, but by no means completely at his expense, far from it. The possession of the Roman dukedom, the exarchate of Ravenna and the Penapolis was confirmed to him, as was the Sabina. However, Hadrian had to return the Duchy of Spolcto, which the Roman Church had subjugated on its own initiative during Charlemagne's invasion, despite his claim that the king had personally given it to St. Peter. The Frankish plenipotentiaries acted without regard for the pope. And the pope's hunger for Tuscia also remained largely unsatisfied. Denii Charles wanted to rule over the former Lombard kingdom himself, even if only as overlord.

He had given direct rule to his four-year-old son Pippin - and Hadrian, who baptized him and conferred the **godparenthood**, **also had to anoint him king, as well as** his even younger brother Louis, who would one day rule Aquitaine. Charlemagne's sovereignty was thus preserved, as was the unity of the empire. The young Pippin had to connect with the country and its people, and the actions of the Roman bishop (baptism, godparenthood, anointing) also served this purpose,
but he was only allowed to be a kind of viceroy, a Mirregent, a -Partners in the Empire", as it will be called 8od. In the meantime, guardian governments were appointed for each of the -reges-, as Pippin and Louis were called.

Charles therefore had no thought of dismembering Italy in favor of the pope; he had no thought of redeeming his promise of a gift YOf1774 * . If it came to his advantage, no matter how sacred Ignoring what is written - as a saint is entitled to do.
Hadrian's territorial wishes in southern Italy also remained unconsidered at the time, as Charles did not want to come to terms with Desiderius' son-in-law, Duke Arichis of Benevento, who was backed by Byzantium. *[2]

Although a number of donations, confirmations, levies and taxes were made in favor of the pope at the time, many of his territorial wishes remained unfulfilled, and Charles, who had once also received a papal total on account of the pope, was not able to fulfill them.

"of some intolerable **words**, apparently did not bother to justify this. He went over Hadrian's head, switching over territories that he had promised the pope or that even already belonged to him, completely unconcerned. Especially since the destruction of the Lombard Empire, the Romans were completely powerless against Charles, his subject, Rome was a Frankish city whose sovereign Charles was prayed for in worship, as had probably already been the case **for Pippin** (and later for many powerful, godly rulers - up to Hirler!).

Even an old spiritual rival of Rome, Leo of Ravenna, was covered up by Charles when he, like the Pope, could not get enough. No sooner had the latter rushed back after his conquest of Pavia, in order to be able to attack the Saxons in particular, than the archbishop snatched one city after another from the Holy Father in Romagna and Emilia: Faenza, Forli, Cesena, Comacchio, Perrara, lmola, Bologna. He e x p e l l e d Hadrian's officials by force of arms or captured them in order to quite obviously create a Ravennarian ecclesiastical state at the expense of the Roman one. And like the Pope, he invoked a 'schenkurig' of Charles, whom he had ultimately helped so much in the Lombard war (p. q3i). He fended off all protests, attacks and suspicions by Hadrian, pleaded his case personally before the king, was obviously supported by the latter, much to the pope's dismay, and kept the annexed property until his death.

If a Ravennatian bishop treated Rome in this way, the almost omnipotent Franconian could do so all the more. He allowed himself to interfere not only in the territorial sphere, but even in the inner-church sphere, in the administration and jurisdiction, and **Pope** Hadrian had to accept this and then replied meekly: "We have submitted to your royal fiorde-

behave in accordance with the 8 policy." Or: "In doing so, we have, as we have
are dwelling, with favorable will your commission fulfilled."

But the Pope's unwavering greed to enlarge the Papal States continued, which he himself naturally saw quite differently. -"But you must not believe," he wrote to King Charles a few years before the end of his life, "that I am telling you this because I a m eager to possess the cities you have given to St. Peter, but only out of concern for the safety of the holy Roman Church."

" . SHEET SHEER" - PA rsT HxDRlAN H ETZT G EG EN BENEVENT

Hadrian was only concerned with security in the case of Benevento, which had always been a thorn in his side. '-The pope did not refrain from stirring up hatred against the Lombards in every possible way' (Hartmann). Not only did he try to use intrigue and lies to drive Charles into a war against Benevento, whose duke Arichis had repeatedly and explicitly declared h i s desire for peace, but he even demanded a war of aggression against the Greek Empire. He claimed to have reliable information about a conspiracy between Arichis and Byzantium.

Charles, who crossed the Alps with an army in the winter of7 ®* - his third visit to Rome - was in the 'Eternal City' in January, where he received a pompous welcome from the Pope. There he also conveyed
Arichis' son Romuald accepted his father's offer with rich gifts, "to fulfill the king's will in everything," he did not mar- ket against Beneventus (Annales Regni Franco- rum). But the pope wanted war. He wanted the occupation and subjugation of Benevento in order to eliminate a dangerous opponent and satisfy his own property claims - his work to elevate the Holy Roman Church, he later called it.

Charles held Romuald and advanced on Capua, while Arichis exchanged his residence for the strong sea fortress of Salerno, where, at worst, he could still flee across the sea. Through another envoy, he offered the Franks favors, i n c l u d i n g Romuald and his younger son Grimoald, who safed with him in Salerno. Einhard also spoke of -a great money sunime-.

Now Karl gave in. He listened to his pleas and

-At the same time, he also refrained from war for fear of God … - For fear of God? When would that ever have stopped him*! With God's help he set out, always anew. Almost every year! But he was supposedly "more interested in ensuring the welfare of the people than in bowing to the Duke's stubbornness", as a Frankish tale reiterates, "in reality Salerno, especially without Elotte, was difficult to take. And an uprising in southern Italy, a war with Byzantium, would have been all the more fatal for Charles as a war with the Avars was imminent in the north. And finally, "the bishoprics and monasteries were not to be left to their own devices.

Reason enough not to -get- for once. Charles thus took Grimoald *and* twelve Longobard nobles *as his guiscln,* sent Romuald to his father, who, together with his subjects, had to swear an oath of allegiance, recognize Frankish sovereignty and pay an annual tribute of yooo goldsolidi."

Rigid conditions. Charles could be satisfied. He went to Rome again, -to perform his devotions in the holy cities- (Einhard). He is said to have celebrated Easter there with great joy. The Holy Father, on the other hand, was less pleased, although the King of the Franks largely fulfilled his demands. He "gave" him a large number of cities, including Arpino, Aquino and Capua in the south. Furthermore, the papal patrimony in the area around Salerno was increased. And to the north, he granted the pope a considerable expansion of the Papal States, leaving him many cities in Lombard Tuscia, including Soana, Viter-

bo, Orvieto - -a considerable success, states again the Catholic pope historian Seppelt.

But Hßdrian remained dissatisfied. Not even when Duke Arichis and his eldest son Rorriuald died in July and A¥lgttSt7 2 did he calm down. The Beneventans asked for the release of Grimoald, who was still being held hostage in the Frankish kingdom.

next heir to the throne, and to return the cities ceded to the pope, otherwise they would renounce their obedience. The Holy Father, however, urged Charles again, -Do as your wisdom sees fit; but if the Beneventans do not comply with your orders, as they have promised, send an army of war against them at once. We have also already agreed with your envoys that if the Beneventans do not do your will by the first of May, the army you have prepared on the border will fall upon them immediately; later would not be advisable because of the heat of the summer.

The Pope demanded that a Frankish army march into Benevento by i. Ma 7$8 in Benevento. Charles did not agree to this, if only because of his position north of the Alps. As an exception, he sent special envoys to Benevento and later, as Adalgis was already in Calabria, waiting to march into the duchy, he released Grimoald to take power in Benevento in return for recognition of his supremacy and other requests. The pope had warned the king: - "Trust, then, we beg you very much, as far as Grimuald, Arichi's son, is concerned, to no one more than to us; you can rest assured that Italy will not remain quiet if you let Grimuald go to Benevento." In the meantime, a Byzantine army had landed in Calabria. On Charles' orders, however, Grimoald, together with Duke Hildebrand of Spolero, attacked the Byzantines and defeated them utterly.

In the long run, however, Hadrian was right, Grimond did not like Charles' dictates. He married a niece of the Byzantine emperor and broke with the Franks. In accordance with orders, Pippin of Italy then ravaged the territory of the

-Rebe1len-. And two years later, Pippin, reinforced

This time by Aquitanian troops under his brother Ludwig, another revenge attack on Benevenr, but without achieving anything decisive. A famine had forced him to retreat and **even** compelled his troops to eat meat during Lent, as the explorer Annalist writes with a shudder! And yet another attack failed due to an epidemic that decimated Pippin's army.'°

Of course, the popes' policy was not only **directed** against Benevcnt, but also against Byzantium, whose rulers had ruled over Rome from century to century before the popes, with the help of the Lombards and Franks, were able to give them the slip and ignore the authorities placed before them by God.

Perhaps as early as his774. , but since Charlemagne's second visit to Rome, Hadrian no longer counted the papacy according to imperial, but according to papal, as decreed by Emperor Ju- stinian 1.
years of the pontificate. The pope denied the Byzanrian ruler the privilege of dating papal documents according to the years of his reign and claimed it for himself. He was clearly not thinking of somehow granting this important privilege to the king of the Paws, the Lombards, the Patricius of the Romans, or even sharing it with him. Rather, he demonstrates that he is "no longer willing to recognize any authority over God" (Menzer). And Hadri- an also replaces the emperor's name and image on his silver denarii with his own name and image, thus transferring - perhaps the most essential of all imperial rights - to the pope, who thereby presented himself as a *quasi* impcrntor (Deér)."

Hadrian I died at Christmas 79s. His successor was elected pope the very next day, allegedly unanimously.

Eix (UN ECHTES) MARTY RIUM AND A (FAST eC "rz) CHEaSER CROWNING

-* JJJ- l7f5+'6), a Roman by birth, of an unstable nature and, as they say, of rather low origin, hastened to assure Charles of his loyalty. He sent him the keys of the supposed tomb of Peter with the electoral censorship, which had no political significance; while the transfer of the ban of the city of Rome, combined with the oath of allegiance of the Romans, was a clear sign of the subordination of the Papal States to the Frankish ruler. The latter, for his part, sent his court chaplain Arigilbert, the abbot of Saint-Riquier (who had given Charles' daughter Bertha two sons in a wild marriage), to Rome with instructions: -Exhort the rapst urgently to an honorable way of life and above all to observe the holy church statutes ... And with all diligence refer him to the eradication of the Simonistic heresy, which is staining the body of the holy church in many places, and to that which, as you remember, we have both often lamented.

Charles obviously had reason to urge the Holy Father to lead an "honorable life". But it must have been even more fatal for the Pope to have to read in a letter delivered at the same time how the Frankish king distributed the weights in the Western world, how he saw himself as the Lord who left nothing to him but prayer. -It is our task to defend, with God's help, the holy Church of God everywhere from the invasion of the pagans and the persecution by the unbelievers with weapons, to strengthen the Catholic faith both outwardly and inwardly. Your task, Holy Father, is to support our armed forces, like my hands raised to God, so that through your prayers and by the grace of God the Christian people may everywhere and always be victorious over the enemies of his name and the name of our Lord Jesus Christ may be glorified throughout the world."

Leo III recognized Charles' supremacy over the Papal States from the very beginning. Charles had already been involved in internal church affairs earlier.

He also prohibited the clergy from visiting taverns, keeping dogs, dogs, jugglers, and the nuns from writing wonnelie- dern. He even took care of the use of shoes during church services and the use of altar coverings. Of course, he regulated more important ecclesiastical matters in his realm, and the pope a l m o s t always obeyed. At the Frankfurt Synod of7s4 , Charles decided with his court theologian even opposed the Pope in matters of faith. At the instigation of the king, Leo elevated Salzbl2rB l7s8) to an archbishopric, convened a synod in Rome and organized the church in the plundered Avar territories. And as a substructure of the emperor, he also dated his coins after his reign.

Throughout his life, the Pope remained dependent. All the more so as the ruthless, power-hungry "deputy" in Rome was faced with strong clerical opposition, including the highest dignitaries of the court and relatives of his deceased predecessor. For as the pope's secular possessions had grown along with their nepotism, almost every change of office led to new party formations, to the nobility's hunger for ecclesiastical good and power.

5o also now. Under the leadership of two relatives of Hadrian I, Primicerius Paschalis and Saccliarius Campulus, the tensions that had probably been smouldering since the beginning of Leo's pontificate e r u p t e d in an attack. During the so-called Procession of the Black Cure, on St. Mark's Day, zy. Apr' 79s, the followers of the last pope apparently tried to blind and kill his successor. At least according to the imperial annals, his eyes were gouged out and his tongue was cut off while he was riding from the Lateran to the church of St. Lawrence" {ac lingua detruncaverunt).

Einhard also reports this in a very similar way. It can be that bad Charles himself spoke of the pope's miraculous health soon afterwards. Of course, there was also the version of his miraculous healing in circulation, the restoration of his health.

his eyesight and his language. And apparently the Holy Father had personally spread the tale at Charles' court. On the other hand, his opponents denied having blinded and mutilated him at all - which his opponents then wanted to regard as no less a miracle: "St. Peter had thus completely thwarted the assassination attempt!"

Apparently, while his entourage was fleeing, Leo III was pulled off his horse, stabbed in the face, dragged into a church, mistreated again in front of the altar and left lying there. Later the instigator of this tara', a true Samaritan, locked him up in the monastery of St. Martyr Erasmus (whose abbot was in league with the conspirators), - and there to be healed" (Annales regni Francorum). While the two parties, both good Catholics, were still at loggerheads, the Holy Father was carried over the monastery wall by his chamberlain Albinus during the night and led to 5poleto by Duke Winigis, who had rushed over. He then reached Charles - the first journey by a pope across the Alps into the Frankish Empire since the days of Stephen II.

It is said to have been a triumphal procession, with all the people flocking to see the barely concealed man and kiss his feet. He s i n g s a "Gloria in excelsis", and Karl and the Pope, who •rtx pater Europze- and the "Summus Leo pastor in orbe-, according to the panegyric epic -Carolus Magnus et Leo papa-, which was probably written there at the time, embrace each other in tears. {Celebration service and banquet, whole wild boars on silver platters and falernians in gold goblets. Remains of the throne on which Charles sat at the time were dug up). In amazement, the king - in the poem - sees the eyes that had been gouged out shine again, hears the mutilated tongue speak again, and the clergy praise the miracle of Gotie in front of the church door, singing in unison.

Soon, however, the representatives of the anti-papal party appeared, the "wicked sons of the devil", as the papal historian calls them, the I-co, very precisely, Best-

perjury and adultery. These were by no means groundless accusations, as not only Frankish circles believed (the Archbishop of Salzburg moaned about the papal offenses in confidential letters), but the investigations in Rome also revealed this. Charles had doubted Lco's suitability from the outset.

^° **P**8<* eifelt. But the authority of the Holy Father was to be spared at all costs. For what shepherd in the Church, exclaimed the Anglo-Saxon theologian Alcuin, head of the Catholic Church? Alkuin, who is the head of the Church of Christ and abbot of half a dozen monasteries, remains untouched, "will the one who is the head of the Church of Christ be deposed?" Alkuin burns a report from Archbishop Arno of Rome, a devout believer and very devoted to the papacy, with references to the pope's immorality, for fear of what might arise from this.

Leo, however, "following the example of his predecessors", purified himself on z3. December 8oo in Rome in the presence of Charles, whose tribunal he submitted to, "invoking the Holy Trinity by an oath of the offenses of which he was accused" (Annales rcgni Francorum). He held the Gospel over his head and called God - before whose judgment all must appear - to witness to his innocence. He also strongly emphasized and repeated the voluntary nature of his oath - -But this I do, to remove all suspicion, of my own free will- - even though he had in fact been forced to take this way out. Whereupon his opponents were sentenced to death as lèse-majesté criminals, then mercifully banished to the Frankish Empire and allowed to return to Rome under the next pope. (Of course, when Charles had only just died, this pope carried out a treason trial on his own after another plot against him, "mercilessly condemned hundreds to death (Kelly) - and was canonized, as a papal desk murderer should be; his feast on June to. June, however, has since been canceled)'*.

Two days after his oath of purification, Christmas 8'x', crowned Lno Hf. KarJ as emperor during the mass - *the* coronation

ceremony was part of the divine service - (Benz). Obviously, the pope wanted to divert attention from his embarrassing justification and secure a special position for himself compared to the other Metropolitans, i.e. greater independence. In any case, it was the foundation of the medieval empire in Abcndland. While the assembled people proclaimed Charles Augusius, Leo paid homage to him by prostrating, admittedly the first and last time a pope prostrated before a Western emperor.

Karl was reportedly unpleasantly surprised. Because of course Of course, this all seemed like a prank in Constantinople. He would never have entered the church that day, he assured Einhard, had he known the Pope's intentions. This is at least a strong embellishment, or rather: an untruth - even if it must have bothered him to owe something to the pope, especially this pope. After all, shortly afterwards he gave Leo gifts worth around one and a half pensioners' worth of gold, never came to Rome again and "endured the jealousy of the Eastern Roman emperors", according to Einhard, "with astonishing composure".

However, the interpretation of the act of coronation as a papal surprise has long been rightly doubted, even rejected. In any case, the coronation was certainly preceded by preliminary negotiations, as the annals of scholars attest. Charles was certainly not the man to have something imposed on him that he did not want. And Leo certainly had good or rather evil reasons for his actions. - The pope may have pursued his own rehabilitation by elevating his protector, may have seen increased security for himself in the creation of an emperor, may have wanted to wipe away the humiliation of the oath of purification with the coronation by his hand. Certainly behind his actions was the forgery in the name of Consrantin, which gave the pope control over Rome find the Occident - which Leo now passed on to the French king (Aubirii. The pope had usurped a right that would continue to have a d i s a s t r o u s effect, since, as Ranke says, it was -at first a strange claim to distribute crowns-.

At Christmas 8oy, Leo visited Charles in Quiersy and Aachen for a few weeks, played - the forged Donation of Constantine ... as a political trump card against Charles the Great" (Ohnsorge), and in the following year war broke out with Byzantium, in which they fought over Dalmatia and Venice, which was won, lost and conquered again. In the Peace of Aachen in 8iz, however, Charles surrendered his conquests in exchange for recognition as emperor and the granting of the fraternal title. He renounced Venice, the Ddlmatiii coastal land and Siid Italy, after which Michael J. (8ii-8i 3) recognized him as emperor."

Karl had fought wars all his life. And he did nothing dear.

iö. CHAPTER

KARL "THE GREAT" AND HIS WARS

• The franc babe to the. A friend, but never a neighbor - Greek proverb'

• Of all the cricgcn that Cat1 Iührre, he first took the aquicanisct war . .. After this criticism . . . Charles was persuaded to declare war on the Lombards by the pleas and pleas of the Roman bishop Hadrian ... After that, the material war was resumed ... uninterrupted for thirty-three years . and then attacked Spain with the largest force at his disposal ... Charles also defeated the Bretons . . - and threatened the Beoeventans with an attack if they refused to unite with him . .. t'4on the Bavarian war suddenly broke out ... As soon as these uprisings were suppressed, the Slavs were declared crusaders ... probably the greatest war that Charles ever led ... and in the battles so much valuable booty was conquered that one can rightly say that the Ftatikcn had the Huaneo rightfully took what they had unjustly stolen from other peoples in the past. , . Charles undertook his last campaign against the I fordgermanens, also known as Danes ... originally Seträubcr ... **So** these were **the wars that the mighty King Charles ...** with **great** prudence and success. He enlarged the Frankish kingdom, which he had already taken over from his **ancestor** Pippin in a large and powerful way, almost twice over ... Charles thus proved to be ... a]s a great ruler and was constantly Plünen such Ari employed - A yard'

-His aim was to win the world, as far as it was within his reach, for Goit and Oristus with the iiinsatz der germonis<hen Acht.- The Jesuit Sthöffel'

i. Dos armicx "MissiooixouoG- THE SzCHSEN

(77*-# 4)

The 5axes, whose name (a Kiirz form wohÍ of Sahsnótas) means swordsmen, swordsmen, were first mentioned by the mathematician, astronomer and geographer KÍaudios Ptolemaios, who lived in the tenth century. The Romans already feared their bravery and Tacitus praised their righteousness. -Without greed, without mafilosity, quiet and secluded, they did not call for wars, did not wreak havoc with raids and plunder." They made their armies on water and on land, the former in hollowed-out tree trunks that could hold about three dozen men.

Coming from Scandinavia, they liked to spread out along coastlines. For a long time they stayed on the northern French coast, which was called Sirius Saxonicus, and in Flanders and, after the withdrawal of the Lombards, in Lürieburg. Around the middle of the 5th century, a considerable number of them went to Fingland, but the majority continued to settle on the continent, where their empire extended over the whole of present-day north-western Germany, with the exception of the Frisian territories.*

Of all the German districts, only those in Saxony, of which we still know more than a hundred by name, always remained in *the* same possession. *They were more* removed from the *influence of the* Romans *and* preserved their national character more than the pagans living further south. And these pagan Saxons, according to Abbot Rudolf of Fulda himself, were hard on their own laws. -And they endeavored

many useful and, **according** to the **law of nature,** honorable things in the integrity of morals'.

Their name does not encompass a single tribe, but rather a **confederation of tribes** (**disputed** in research)**, to** whose formation, **in addition to** the Saxons, the Chauks, Angrivaricr, Cherusci, Lombards, Thuringians and Semnones also contributed. Later **the Engern, the Wcsr and Ostfalen as well as the** Elbe Saxons. However, they were all regarded by the Franks as members of one people and were usually called Saxons without distinction. After their joint conquest of Thuringia J3 i (5. 8g ff.) together with the Franks, they were given its eastern part, which is still n a m e d after them today.

Perhaps the Saxons originally also had petty kings, **but they** did not **develop a separate kingdom or Hcrzogcum.** Their society was made up of four estates: Nobles (nobiles), freedmen (liberi), lates (liti) and slaves (ser- vi), whereby the lates were already serfs bound to the land.

were. The lowest classes in particular resisted the Christianization and rule of the Franks, while the nobility sought to protect their interests by aligning themselves w i t h the enemy of the state.

In other respects, too, it was probably the propertied class that converted to Christianity first. While, for example, the nobility of the Civitas Treverorum, the diocese of Trier, converted in the later q. century. century, the tenants, farmhands and agricultural laborers there apparently held on to the old faith for a long time and were not converted until the middle of the 5th century.

-convert". The situation was similar in the Trienc region, where the Coloni still lived as pagans while their landlords had already become Christians. Among the Slavs, too, the princes probably preceded their tribes in baptism.

It was the same everywhere with the state-controlled **missionary work**, so it was not something special that the Frankish mission Lyon developed from the top down. It would have been impossible to build it up from the bottom up, starting with the socially insignificant classes,

because it was readily perceived as demagoguery and rejected by the fidel- {Flaskamp). It can hardly be a coincidence that, in complete reversal of the situation in the first Christian centuries, the ruling class everywhere expected the greatest advantages from the religion of love.

ROBBING AND CHR ISTIANIZING - "A PIECE OF FRANCONIAN GOVERNMENT POLICY"

While the Franks had fought together with the Saxons in the destruction of the Thuringian kingdom 3i (p. qo), Jyy/ yy6 Chlotar 1. led two campaigns against them. He was severely defeated in the first, but was forced to pay tribute to them in the next (p. qy). Around 6zq, Chlotar 11 had all Saxons longer than his sword killed in a devastating campaign. However, when they 6)z/6 3 Dagobert 1. against a Wendish army under Samo, the king waived the tribute of oo cows, which they had paid for over a century, although they did little against the Wends. They had thus become completely independent. However, after they invaded the hand on the lower Ruhr in 7-J, Karl Marsch undertook devastating wars of aggression against them and forced them to surrender and take hostages.

\As with the Frisians, of course, the Saxons, who were regarded as "arch-pagans", were not successful in their raids alone. All such forays beyond the Frisian state were characterized by something hopelessly forlorn (Schieffer). As with the Frisians, the clergy soon collaborated closely with the conquerors in the conquest of the Saxons. Both supported each other. First they robbed the land with the sword, then they consolidated their joint **rule** by means of Christian ideology and church organization**,** adapted the conquered and "converted" politically and exploited them economically.

The Frankish kings and nobles had no more devoted helpers than the clergy, and nothing promoted them more eagerly than Frankish feudalism. The military victory was immediately followed by Christianization. Wherever the Frankish sword did not reach, to the Danes for example, any mission was excluded. As with the Frisians, the Saxons' fight for freedom was therefore also always a fight against Christianity, which appeared to be a symbol of enslavement and forced rule. For this reason, both the Frisians and the Saxons were particularly hostile to the clergy, destroying churches and expelling missionaries in the event of rebellion, not infrequently killing priests and priests, and any Christian preacher who appeared was a suspect from the outset. He was almost always in the service of a hostile power intent on subjugation, acting as its pacemaker and stabilizer - the greatest conceivable contrast to the a!tchurch mission, when the aim was to slowly win congregation after congregation.

But now they wanted as many people as possible at once - a whole tribe, a people. From the outset, as was always the case in the Middle Ages, the aim was to achieve mass victory. Thus, in the course of the 8th century, people increasingly began to break the path of Christianity at all costs and to run the defeated by force. - This combination of war and Christianization heralded the new form of cooperation between t h e start and the church (Steinbach) - often referred to as "border protection" and "counter-majorities" (Schlesinger). Subjugation was now followed by Christianization on the £uB, in order, as cannot b e denied, to chain the subjugated even more firmly to the empire - a piece of *Frankish government policy*, which was based on the conviction that the doctrine of the Gospel of dutiful obedience was able to subdue unruly defiance even more than the power of the sword" (Naegle).

Among the Saxons, where there were an unusually large number of farmers,

The lower classes in particular were sometimes very upset.

They were actively opposed to Frankish expansion and forced conversion. For them, it led to an Arr serfdom. The Saxon nobility, on the other hand, whose rule was threatened by the Franks and the Lites, an e v e r - i n c r e a s i n g class struggle, was much more receptive to the new, de facto feudal religion and the signing of treaties. He was already partly Christian and related to the Franks. (The situation was at least similar in Thuringia}. The Saxon nobility thus promoted the mission at an early stage in order to secure the bota- bility of the lower classes and consolidate their own position - a characteristic behavior throughout the war. y8z and 8q8 this nobility virtually handed over their most unreliable compatriots to the Franks. And they soon made numerous donations to the church. In contrast, the lower classes (plebcium vulgus) still rejected Christianity in the first half of the qth century. century.°

The people clung to pagan sacrifices and customs and hated the Christian priests. Only Charlemagne's sword led to the goal. Subjugations and conquests followed one another, campaign after campaign. A war lasting more than three centuries, which continued to devastate the country, decimated the people and quickly took on the character of a religious war, was necessary to spread the message of joy and the kingdom of God a little further across the world; to lead the Saxons to the one true God, to convince them that there was something higher than battle and victory, than death on the battlefield and enjoyment in Valhalla (Bertram). It was the bloodiest and most protracted of all the wars of the Franks, writes Einhard, Charlemagne's confidant, in his Vita Caroli fagni, the *first* biography of the ruler of the Middle Kingdom. And these +preachers with an iron tongue-, by whom, according to a word from the q. Century, the Saxon land was taught, became a kind of model for the entire Christian missionary practice of the Middle Ages, whereby we have to bear in mind that we only have Frankish reports on the Saxon wars. And soon the spiritual chroniclers falsified the missionary work with fetter and sword into a completely non-violent, peaceful work of conversion.'°

BEGINNING KARO LING ISCHER KuirUR ßEI DEN
"ER2HElDEN" OOER
WITH ^ CHRISTIAN FxHNEN TO S CHSEN ON"

Charlemagne's armies, calculated at just under yooo horsemen and 6mo to io non-foot soldiers in his largest campaigns, generally comprised more than 5ooo to 6ooo warriors - which, together with their baggage, gave them the length of a full day's march. They were -well- led. Their core consisted of heavy cavalry, quite unlike that of his grandfather Charles Martel; the knights were equipped with chain mail, helmet, shield, greaves, lance and battle axe {which corresponded to the equivalent of about t8 to ko cattle) - all of which were now put on the scales for Jesus Christ. The still numerous foot associations fought with clubs and bows. (Infantry no longer played a major role in the army until Ksr1 the Bald in *866,* when every Franconian who owned a horse was obliged to do military service). Incidentally, the Carolingian warriors were not paid: the loot was distributed."

The Christian butchery {"sword mission-), with which Charles continued the Saxon wars of his father, began yyz. The tilde king, as the imperial annals repeatedly referred to him at the time, conquered the Saxon border fortress of Eresburg (today Obcrmarsberg on the Diemel), in the first half of the

Material wars are an important point of departure for various htilitäropera-

tions. And he destroyed {probably there) the lrminsul, the Saxon national shrine: an unusually large tree trunk, which the Saxons worshipped as the -all-bearing sow1e- in a sacred ha in our open sky. Later, Kdrl entrusted Abbot Sturmi of Fulda with the command of Eresburg Castle, which was repeatedly conquered, lost, destroyed and rebuilt.

Bishops and abbots also performed military services for him. Moreover, like the counts, they were obliged to maintain an arsenal¡ even the abbesses. Even then, crowds of clergymen accompanied the Frankish lord,

-thus, Sturmi's biographer reports, -the people, who had been ensnared by the bonds of demons since the beginning of the world, bent under the gentle and sweet yoke of Christ through holy instruction in the faith. From that very year, Charles also bore a seal of victory with the original inscription: - Christ protect Charles, King of the Franks.

After the Christians had completely devastated the cuJtsieJle for three days, burned the sacred grove and destroyed the pillar, they departed with the votive gifts piled up there, rich gold and silver treasures - - the mild King Charles -, the imperial annals simply report, -broke the gold and silver he found there with him. And soon a church "with St. Peter's patrocinium - (Karpf) - the gatekeeper of heaven instead of the Saxon god lrmin (presumably identical with the Germanic god SaxnothfTiwas) rose above the plundered and ruined pagan sanctuary, what progress!" In the next two years, the "mild king" fought above all in Italy; Pope Hadrian had invited him through the messenger Petrus (the envoy was really called that) - out of love for God and for the right of St. Peter and the Church to help against King Desiderius …– (Annales rcgni Francorum). But as early as774. -to return from the robbery of the Lombard kingdom, the good king Charles chased four army contingents to the evil Saxons, three emerged victorious - with God's help - as the imperial annalist reports, but the fourth troop returned home "without loss, but with great spoils and no casualties".

And then Charles himself, as it were, carried the Christian banners into Saxony (lGroszmann), whereby the war became ever more clearly a religious war before his eyes, as Canon Adolf Bertram i8qq recognizes."

Charles himself, concerned about the further course of the war, asked an expert by courier whether it was an omen that Mars had accelerated its course and had already reached the constellation of Cancer. He conquered Sigiburg on the Ruhr and crossed the Weser, where many Saxons were slain.

The Saxons were either defeated and submitted to the Christian religion or were completely exterminated - the program of a 33-year war that was increasingly motivated by religion (Haendler). Yes, at least in its planning it was something quite new in church history, a direct missionary war, which was not the preparation of a missionary work, but itself a means of mission" (H.-D. Kahl).

They were just in that decade, iii in which the prayer of a sacramentary {measure book) calls the Franks the chosen people. Just as Charlemagne's Saxon wars were considered pagan wars in his time and therefore naturally considered just. "Arise, man chosen by God, and defend the bride of God, your Lord," one of his closest advisors, the Anglo-Saxon Alcuin, called out to him. And the monk Widukind von Corvey later wrote: -And seeing how his noble neighboring people, the Saxons, were caught up in empty delusion, he strove in every way to lead them to the true Wtg of salvation.

In every way. The imperial annals of the year77s make this notoriously succinct: -After he had obtained the hostages, taken rich booty and caused a bloodbath among the Saxons three times, the said King Charles returned to France with God's help (auxiliante Domino) heiiri.

The prey, the bloodshed and God's help - this recurs again and again. God is always on the side of the strong again and again: -But God's power overcame theirs ... and the whole mass of them, who in their fear had been carried away one by one into flight, killed
... were struck by each other's faults and so were overtaken by God's punishment. And how much God's power was effective for the salvation of the Christians, no one can say. 778:
-A battle was started there and finished very well.
leads: with God's help the Franks remained victorious and a lot of Saxons were slain there . - 779 - . with God's help ... - etc. And between the regular summer massacres, there are regular celebrations in winter, sometimes on this

Court estate, once in that city, -the aforementioned mild King Christmas-
ten . . ."

They fought against pagans; that justified everything. Crowds of clerics accompanied the butchers. Many a miracle happened. And after every campaign, they dragged home rich roughage. Mass baptisms took place at the Rippe, mostly probably of nobles, "the Saxons came with their wives and children in endless numbers (innumerabilis multitudo) and were baptized and provided hostages as much as the said king d e s i r e d of them".

And on the glittering imperial city ofB777 ** Paderborn they flocked again and solemnly swore off -Donar and Wotan and 5axnot and all the fiends who are their comrades-, and gave their lives.
praised faith and loyalty to God the Father Almighty, Christ the Son of God and the Holy Spirit. Yes, this now became a fixed principle: first the battlefield, then the mission field. It was part of the Franconian king's special missionary method, which he practised from then on, to first baptize, then instruct. A sequence that the church (which in its earliest period propagated the opposite, adult baptism, the baptism of the deceased first) still adheres to today for the worst of reasons.

Mrs SiON AFTER "THE Ml LITERAL PUSH **LINES** ..."

The Saxons now not only had to vouch for their subjugation with all their freedom and property, but their plundered territory was immediately divided into dioceses in the presence of numerous bishops, depending on the situation, to the dioceses of Cologne, Mainz, Wiirzburg, Liège, Unrecht and the monasteries of Fulda and Amorbach and firmly incorporated into the Frankish Empire. The dioceses of Münster, Osnabrück and Bremen, the latter a "focal point" of Christian propaganda among the Saxons, were created under Charles. The distribution of the missionary bishoprics since 77s corresponded to the military lines of attack of the Franks from the Lower Rhine and Main" (Löwe).

Charles soon brought missionaries from all seas to the conquered land, Frisian and Anglo-Saxon missionaries, missionaries from Ktainz, Reims, Chalon-sur-Marne. The clerical I?ropagandists advanced from everywhere, from bishoprics and monasteries - which had already b e e n "castles of constraint" (Schultze) in ancient times, in the

Early Middle Ages, however, often already had functions that later, when medieval politics w a s to a considerable extent castle politics, were assigned to the actual castles. From Cologne, Liège, Unrecht, Würzburg, Echternach, Corbie, Visbcck, Amorbach, Pulda and Hersfeld, the messengers of joy rushed to the neighboring heathen lands. For everywhere the sword was followed by the mission in an original connection (Petri), the event of salvation - now inseparable from the warlike conquest of foreign territory as a joint work of church and feudal state (Donner). Annexation war and missionary policy, sword and cross, military and clergy, now indeed belonged indissolubly together, working 1!a "d in hand, so to speak. What the battle robbed, the sermon should preserve - "The mission had taken devastating beginnings - (Baumann)."

The military backbone of Charlemagne's wars, "true bloodbaths" (G rierson), were the hard-to-conquer border fortifications built on mountains and rivers (based on the Roman model). It is probably no coincidence that the first fortified bishoprics were founded at the entrance and exit gates of the Weser fortress: Paderborn, where Charles and his troops repeatedly stopped o n their way back from eastern Saxony, where he built a royal fortress.

The palatinate was built in the late 18th century and already had a church of marvelous architecture (A nnales Laureshamenses), the SaIvator Church;

Osnabrück, Minden, as well as the two oldest monasteries of the early Frankish period in Saxony, Corvey and Herford. -Under Charlemagne, new monasteries were founded almost exclusively as bases in the pagan lands that had just been subdued" (Fichtenau).

The bishoprics of Würzburg, Erfurt and Bü raburg (near Fritzlar) had already been established in the same place where, a few years later, Karlmann and Pippin led their campaigns against the Saxons743. 744. 74) In addition to the missionary centers in

Saxony itself, the monastery of Fulda played a special role. Last but not least, Mainz soon became an archbishopric around y8o, with the new Saxon dioceses of Paderborn, Halberstadt, Hildesheim and Verden being placed under it, so that the ecclesiastical province of Mainz was the largest in Christendom in terms of area until its dissolution, while the new Westphalian foundations of Münster, Osnabrück and Minden came under the Cologne diocese.

It goes without saying that ever more extensive land was confiscated in favor of the church and protected by castles. Charles gave rich gifts to important monasteries and supported them in disputes with their subjects. Thus the Saxons not only had to see every Frankish missionary as a spy or supporter of foreign rule, but also every Christian settlement as a base for the attacking Frankish armies (Hauck). For the Saxons, every war against the Christians was also a war of religion; the fight for paganism and state freedom were the same thing. Again and again, this intensified the Saxon resistance, and it was precisely for this reason that the churches were destroyed and the clergy expelled or killed."

Just as King Charles had repeatedly led military campaigns against the Lombards in the early years of the Saxon conflict, in the year7 he also made a famous -abc- cher- to the Moors in northern Spain, an armed expedition.
flight, which went somewhat differently than planned.

SCH LA PPE IN 3PAN IEN
OR "THIS IS WHERE THE CROSS2TRAINS BEGIN"

Various Arab power groups rivaled each other in Spain. The strong man was the last Umayyad, Abd ar-Rahman ben Muajia. Ryo in Damascus, in the seizure of power by the Abbasi- den - the descendants of their prophet uncle Mohammed, the

systematically depreciated the Umayyads -, escaped to Spain, *" '* 7$6* came to rule as emir in Córdoba. In the meantime, however, a pro-Abbasid opposition was fighting him, and among his most dangerous opponents was Suleiman Ibn ai-Arabi, the governor of Barcelona and Gerona. Having been in rebellion for some time and under heavy pressure from his opponent, Suleiman and other prominent opponents7z7 had called on the King of the Franks at the Imperial Diet in Paderborn. Help called. Always ready for action and willing to help, he hesitated

He did not accept this and waged a pure war of conquest against the Omaijadeiiemir, whereby he wanted to advance the imperial border - still his goal after the Fehłłschlag - as far as the Ebro.

He was driven solely by political motives. He undoubtedly had a very battle-hardened army, but it could only be maintained at a high level through continuous battles. Moreover, military campaigns brought booty, and almost nothing was more necessary. "The greats of the empire had to be fed from time to time to keep their spirits up, and new vassals could only be won through generosity" (de Bayac). The Carolingian state was a purely imperial state from the very beginning, and it remained so, even with an increasing tendency. Under Charlemagne in particular, people lived on nothing more than plunder - and the help of God.

Now, there were indeed some mountainous regions beyond the Pyrenees, in the northern

west, in Asturias and Galicia, was still a small area held by Christians. However, at that time the Christians enjoyed freedom of religion and mild treatment by the -unbelievers- -after all, the Arabs in Spain always practiced greater tolerance than they themselves later experienced from the Christians (Mühlbacher). Only subsequent Christian chroniclers allowed their co-religionists to languish "in Spain under the yoke of the Saracens" and Charles to come to the aid of the "suffering church". In reality, the pious ruler never helped the Christian kingdom of Asturias, which had once been founded by Visigoths. Rather, he was the first to attack a Christian city, and as the Í n e s t, already on the

on his way home, Christian Basques gave him another bloody thinking time."

With an unusually strong army, by far the largest he had ever assembled according to reporters, he set out at the beginning of the winter777 * t2f and crossed the

Pyrenees - under God's protection - as4 a biographer of Louis the Pious writes. -For the king's mind wanted neither

be less than Pompey's nor more sluggish than Hannibal's, who once knew how to overcome the difficulties of this region with great effort and loss for themselves and their own.- According to Einhard, Charles conquered all the cities and castles he occupied. But he was unable to advance beyond Zaragoza. The Vali al-Husain closed the gates to him there, Charles apparently turned back after a few days, and to this day it is still uncertain what p r o m p t e d him to abort what was probably the "greatest military expedition of his life" (tBraunfels). On the return march, he destroyed the Basque city of Pamplona.

And when in the AUQU5t77 he led his iron-clad army, disbanded in an almost endless line, back over the narrow mountain paths of the dense Pyrenean forests, the Basques, led by the sons of Suleiman, who accompanied their father, perhaps at Roncevalles, where, of course, only legend p l a c e s the site of the battle, probably from August i, in

They threw the completely surprised and panicked soldiers into the valley and in the ensuing carnage "cut them down to the last man" (Einhard).

Many of the noblest Franks were among them, the king TruchseB Ekkehard - whose epitaph with the date of death i y. August -, the commander of the palace guard, Count Palatine Anselm, and the commander of the Bretaque, Margrave Hruotland (Roland), who was glorified in the right century by the old French national epic -Chanson de Roland- and the German "Ruolantes liet", the "Rolands1ied" of the Regensburg peacock Konrad, whose title hero s t i l l stands entombed in front of Bremen's magnificent town hall. -Until today-, laments Einhard,

"the unfortunate event could not be avenged, since the enemy scattered so far after the deed was done that one had no idea where to look for him." And the Rcichsannalen record. -This loss overshadowed a large part of the Spanish successes like a cloud in the king's heart: -One can say that this is where the crusades begin.

Charles's Spanish intermezzo had failed; what he had gained was soon lost again, and everyone who had collaborated with the enemy, whether Christian or Saracen, was now at the mercy of the Umayyads.

DE R SIX **EN SCH LICHTER, 'A FEW ZEROS TOO MANY' AND ^THE SIMPLE PEACE OF A** GOOD **SOUL** ... n

While Charles makes conquests in northern Spain and loses them again - the only defeat suffered by a Frankish army under his own leadership -, the **returned** from Därtic emi- **gration**, the **Vestphalian nobleman '\X/idukind t777. ^!-^** stays away from the Paderborn Diet) with his Saxons in the south as far as Fu)da, in the west as far as Koblenz and Deutz. Castles and churches are ruined. Widely ravaged villages, destruction; obviously less a raid for booty than for revenge.

9 Charles advances as far as the Weser, y8o as far as the Elbe. Again they baptize, not only East Saxons, but even Wends from beyond the Elbe and -NordIeute-. Again they pledge allegiance and take hostages. At an imperial diet in Lippspringe, the ruler tries to emphatically promote the spread of Christianity in Saxony and thus accelerate the development of feudal relations (Epperlein). Between the occupied castles, the Christian priests spread the new "Enlightenment" - -they carried crosses and sang pious songs. Heavily armed

Soldiers in full armour were their companions, who accelerated the Christianization with their determined expressions (de Bayac).

The plundered territory was then distributed to bishops and abbots, missionary districts were created, churches were built and even smaller monasteries such as Hersfeld, Amorbach and Neustadt am Main were used by Charles to convert pagans. Especially Fulda, of course, whose Abbot Sturmi was still in command, both ecclesiastically and militarily, shortly before his death at Eresburg Castle in Saxony. In the north-west, Bishop Alberich von Unrecht agitated to smash the remnants of paganism in West Fricsland. On his orders and backed by Charlemagne's military power, Alberich's monks destroyed the images of the gods and pagan shrines and stole what was valuable to them. t)he king nevertheless left some of the temple treasures to the bishop for ecclesiastical purposes. St. Anglo-Saxon Willehad, who had also previously indoctrinated the Frisians, not very successfully, organized the northern part of the subjugated Saxon lands on Charles' orders from 28o onwards - St. Liudger, also appointed by Charles, worked in a similar way in central Friesland.

However, when the East Frisians and apparently also large groups of the population of Central Friesland rose up together with the Saxons, destroyed the churches and returned to their old faith, the Christian preachers hurriedly left the country. The Englishman Willehad, soon after ordained as Saxon missionary bishop and first chief pastor of Bremen, fled to Rome, then to Echternach, -z years of smdium and prayer- (-Lexikon für Theologie und Kirchen). St. Liudger, later Bishop of Münster, fled to Rome and Monte Cassino. Without the protection of Frankish arms, the preachers of the Good News could not hold out. But as soon as the occupiers regained control of the field, the clerical lords returned to the propaganda front with their swords. Willehad took his sirz in Bremen, St. Liudger, on Charles' orders, east of the Lauwers. Here, supported by the royal power, he destroyed the pagan shrines (fana), penetrated as far as

and, protected by Frankish soldiers, devastated the sacrificial sites of the Frisian village of Fosete on Heligoland.

However, many clergymen are said to have been reluctant to go to the rebellious Saxons. And when they rose up again in 73*. ugleiCh with the Wends, under Widukind, their goods hit the clergy and Christianity in particular, the churches were a b l a z e and the priests fled. A Frankish army was routed on the Süntel, everything was cut down - almost to the last man," the Rcichsannalen report, adding: -"The loss of the Franks was even greater than it seemed from the numbers." Two dozen so-called nobles and nobles were also killed. But even before Charles himself is on the scene, the Saxon nobility and Frankish troops jointly put down the uprising. The Saxon "Ed1s" hand over the rebels. And now Charles escalates the expansion and missionary war until the famous slaughter in Verden sn der Aller - and then, as usual, celebrates Christmas and Easter, the birth and resurrection of the Lord."

Even in the zo. In the twentieth century, the Catholic and Protestant camps occasionally sought to outright deny the abominable orgy of slaughter. Bishops' spies and some specialist theologians worked hand in hand - especially during the Nazi era.

The Kirchenbote of the diocese of Osnabrück spoke iq3 of the -Similarly, the Protestant church historian at the University of Münster, Karl Bauer, explained that the term decollare (eiithauptwi) used in the sources was a spelling mistake instead of the allegedly originally written delocare or desolare (to resettle), according to which 4soo Saxons were only driven away. On the one hand, however, this word or a similar one is not used at all in various sources. On the other hand**, four** yearbooks of the time report the killing {decollare or decollatio) of the **Saxons:** the Imperial Annals, the Annales Amandi, the Annales Fuldenses, and finally, in the first half of the q. century, the Annals of Anna. Century, also the Anna-

les Sithienses: and all these chroniclers from the most diverse areas would thus, in a most mysterious way, have had the same "Writing mistakes made."

And it was a "scribal error" of a completely different kind when a researcher suspected that the author of the sources had "taken a few too many zeros from his original as a result of misreading" (H. Ulniann). Donald Bullough, on the other hand, rightly remarks: -'But not to credit the king with such an act would be to make him more virtuous than almost all the Christian kings of the Middle Ages w e r e . For the slaughter of a defeated enemy on the battlefield was common at the time, unless one expected more advantage from slaves or ransom. It is also easy to understand that most of the hostages that the king took with him from year to year were regularly killed as soon as those whose obedience they vouched for rose up against the king again.

In fact, on a late fall day, there stood7 z. q5oo Sach- sen, crowded together like animals in a slaughterhouse, and surrounded by their own -nobility-, who had them at their mercy, as well as

of the heroes of the "great" Karl, the "lighthouse of Europe", as a St. Gsller manuscript from the q.m. century calls him. And at his judgment they were cut down, thrown into the Aller, with which they drifted into the Weser and then into the sea ...

-9yoo, and this is what happened- {quod ita et factum est), as the imperial annalist laconically states (then, almost in the same breath: -And he celebrated Christmas ...-) - just dori, where the future "saint" would soon raise a church (not a chapel of atonement, rather a chapel of victory) and today the cathedral of Verden rises. Literally on rivers of blood - like, in a broader sense, all Christian temples.

Imagine: qyoo people with their heads chopped off - and then canonization of the murderer. - Even Fraritisek Graus, a -Lichrb1ick- often in his usually so dark Zunfr, does not allow -any excuse- for murder, -not even a -historical- one centuries apart, and mass murders are a phenomenon that can never be sufficiently denounced …-.

Charlemagne's alleged founding privilege of 736 for the Bishopric of Verden is, of course, a forgery, made between ii5y and i•i7 '< by order of the Bishop of Verden, Hermann, in his chancery.

produced. After all, it is probably not least due to Charlemagne's holiness that the number of documents forged in his name, with which churches obtain privileges, is so great. But genuine or not: -It is true, he killed the q§oo Saxons-, writes Ranke and adds, "later, however, the simple calm of a great soul emerges in him."

^ IE NUiSi **OVERA LL PEACE WAS ..."**

The great rupture of the Christian ruler, celebrated by the Church throughout the Middle Ages as the -apostle of the Saxon star-mes-, failed completely to achieve its goal, at least politically at first. This did not weaken the resistance of the -arch pagans- against Christianity and Franconian rule, but rather fanned it. Once again, rebellion broke out throughout the country. Once again, Widukirid took the lead and also involved the lesser ones in the uprising. Again, everything between Lauwers and Fli sacrificed to the gods. Everything that was Frankish and Christian was persecuted, expelled and exterminated.

Charles hurried to Saxony, away from the fresh grave of his young second **wife,** the Blessed Hildegard, who died on April 3o,7 i at Dicdenhofen, whose loss - unlike the death of

4yoo Saxony - may have met. (But he took a successor in the same year. And again almost a child). And in Saxony it went on again with much bloodshed

and with God's help. -With God's help, the Franks remained victorious, and a very large number of Saxons fell there, so that **only a few managed to escape. And from there the** aforementioned glorious king **came** victoriously to Paderborn and gathered his army there. When the Saxons reunited, he continued his march as far as Haase. There it came to

a battle and there no fewer Saxons fell and with God's help the Franks remained victorious.

The imperial annals for the year y83 just quoted refer to the only two major field battles of the entire war, near today's Detmold and on the Haase, in the heart of the Weser fortress. The chroniclers of the Saxon defeat at Detmold report that "only a few of the enormous number escaped and many thousands fell. And also at the Haase, according to another old source, an -infinite number of Saxons- covered the battlefield, -again- many thousands more than before". Charles was victorious again -with God's help-, returned to the sick and "celebrated Christmas ..." And many thousands more had been dragged into slavery in the meantime.

In the following year,7 4 , the ruler again ravaged Saxony, especially Eastphalia, while his son, already fully in his footsteps, ravaged Westphalia, he too, of c o u r s e , with
God. -With God's help, Charles, the son of the great King Charles, remained victorious with the Franks after many Saxons had been killed. According to God's will, he returned unharmed to his father in the city of Worms.

Karl spent the winter ofr 7$4 7$§ with Fasrrada, who had been married the year before and was still very young, together with his 5 sons and
daughters at Eresburg Castle. And only now did the resistance of the Saxons gradually collapse - while he celebrated the feast of the Resurrection of the Lord, sent out his Soldareska again and again, even undertook a campaign himself, ravaging, robbing, clearing roads, burning whole forests, destroying crops, spilling wells, slaughtering peasants, taking fortresses and entrenched villages - because order is the basic condition for his work" {Daniel-Rops)."

7 5 the resilience of the badly beaten Saxon
the people had almost died out, it seemed to have finally - under the to "duck the gentle and sweet yoke of Christ", as the biographer of Abbot Sturmi had long demanded, that fanatical Saxon missionary who preached the fight against the pagans, their gods and their goddesses.

to destroy temples, to cut down their ancient sacred groves and churches
to be built.

Widukind, who had escaped unconquered to northern Albingia, arrived in the palatinate of Attigny on the Aisne around Christmas> 7 5 after negotiations with Charles's plenipotentiaries, left
baptized, gloriously baptized by the king, who himself was the godfather.
and disappeared from history for the rest of his days. Instead, his relics were preserved, legends tell of churches built by him - and his great-grandson Wichert had already advanced to become Bishop of Verden (d. qo8). Charlemagne announced his victory to the Pope, who sent his congratulations and at the end of June 786 ordered a three-day festival of thanksgiving throughout Western Christendom, even beyond the seas, as far as Christians lived."

Otherwise, however, the war continued.

In the same year, Charles sent an army to Brittany to subjugate the rebellious Bretons, who had been made subject to interest and were reluctant to be exploited. Thus, since Pippin III, under Charles and Louis the Pious, new military expeditions were repeatedly necessary, but these were always followed by new revolts. As late as 285, a "great conspiracy" (Einhard), whose head was Count Hardrard, had to be quelled in Thuringia, whereby the noble Charles, allegedly at the insistence of his brutal third wife Fastrada, cracked down, killed, banished and - a rare punishment in the Frankish kingdom - b l i n d e d .

-Now that peace was everywhere," the imperial annals of this year report, "Charles decided to go to Rome and attack the part of Italy now called Benevento, c o n s i d e r i n g it appropriate to subjugate the rest of the empire as well ... the largest part of which he already had under his control in Lombardy. For without war - the Great - could not endure. And would he be - t h e Great- without his wars?

LAST UPRISINGS, ANNIHIL1JNG WAR - AND "THE STI LLE SOVEREIGNTY OF THE CROOK"

While the king acted in the south {p. 44- ff.), rumblings continued in the north. Although it was announced after the news of Widukind's baptism that -tota Saxonia subiugata est-, the whole of
Saxony was now subjugated - or pacified - despite or because of all the blood. Just as little as Friesland, where new turmoil broke out in the Osren in the 1990s, where the churches were again smashed and the missionaries driven out. Liudger, too, once again sought refuge. As soon as the pagans advanced, he fled; after the persecution - an old, early Christian practice - he returned and continued the mission with apostolic zeal.
"Conversion work- continued: fanatically exterminated the pagan remnants, eradicated -Görzentempel-, made the blind see again, Putz
-dried the tears at all times-, provided refreshing peace- and became a saint.^

Favored by the Avar War, there was also an uprising in Saxony. However, it was mainly limited to the least affected land in the north-east, to the original Saxon northern Albingians living on the Lower Elbe and in Holstein and, with strong restraint on the part of the nobility, to the broad mass of the people.

-The Lorsch Yearbooks report that "like the dog that returns to its spit {11. Petri z,zz)", they returned to the paganism that they had previously renounced, they again embraced Christianity and allied themselves with the surrounding pagan peoples. But they also sent envoys to the fiends, and they tried to rebel, first against God, then against the king and the Christians …- Charlemagne's eldest but unchaste son Pippin, a handsome but hunchbacked youth, also rebelled at the time. While his comrades were partly executed, partly flogged and banished, Pippin ended up shorn into a monk in Prüm Abbey, where h e died after almost twenty years in prison (8i x).

However, the Saxons' more than ten-year struggle was not about

actually against Frankish foreign rule, not even against Christianity as such. Rather, it was directed above all against its representatives and institutions, against the church, its rigorous interventions in private property, its ruthless collection of tithes, about which Charles' Anglo-Saxon advisor Alcuin complained, seeing the missionaries more as plunderers {praedones) than preachers (praedicatores), "Since the tithes had destroyed loyalty and faith", seems to have been a proverbial saying among the Franks. And as merciless as the church was, the northern Albingians now fought it mercilessly. The new places of worship were destroyed everywhere, the clergy chased away, even Christian Saxons were often killed' their possessions plundered, in short, the entire church organization north of the Elbe was destroyed stump and stalk.

The uprising grew into a war of conspiracy lasting more than ten years, with terrible cruelty on both sides. The counteroffensive, which was only launched in the fall of• 7s4 *of :ttlf,
Charles carried relics with him, consisted of mere devastating trains. On several occasions he even used pagan Slavs, the Wilzes, including the Obcdrirs, whose king Witzin was attacked and killed by the 5achs when crossing the Elbe. Charlemagne plundered, destroyed, devastated, sometimes mainly by fire, slaughtered thousands of people, after a victory at Kiel, local Saxon leeches are said to have covered the battlefield. He also dragged away large numbers of hostages year after year, once every third man, as many as he wanted - as the chronicler says, from most of whom he -regularly killed- (Bullough). BI799 now the "apostle of the Saxons, -who preached the gospel with an iron tongue- (Bertram), marched against them every year. 8ox sent he again raised an army, while he spent the whole summer hunting in the Ardennes. 8oq he himself moved in times into the field, with the Saxons finally succumbing to t)he g i+

After all, the ruler had ordered mass deportations in order to make any uprising impossible, frighteningly retrograde.

careless forced transplants on a grand scale, as the Christian Byzantines also practiced; -such a quantity of Greeks, a report tells us, -as was never led away from there in his days or in the days of his father, nor ever in the days of the Frankish kings". The man who already794s 8at the Frankfurt Synod, openly as -head of the Western
dischen Kirche", had the "Church of the Church" appear in the years yqi. 7s . 7s7* 79 .
79s • •4 Thousands of Saxons, my wife and child, around ten thousand families by his soldiery on old Frankish
The Saxons were deported to this side and the other side of the Rhine, in Gaul and Germania, and settled there as tenants of ecclesiastical and secular greats. (Place names in Franconia such as Sachsendorf, Sachsenfahrt, Sachseninühle still remind us of this today). However, many deportees were also placed in strictly guarded camps where they were forced to spend their lives. One source even speaks of "thorough extermination". And a few Saxons, who of course had not yet been cleansed of all filth by the sacred baptismal bath, were thrown into Verdun, the great reloading point for slaves, throughout the war.

As a result of all this, the ownership and property relations had changed.
se in the north was completely changed in part. Charles also redistributed the plundered land on the Elbe to bishops, priests and his vassals. And throughout the p. century, numerous noble monasteries were founded in Saxony."

Thus, through a thirty-three-year war, Charles had the
• Archpagan" was convinced that there was something higher than battle and victory, than death on the battlefield, as Cardinal Bertram, the instigator of two world wars, the Hitler supporter, assures us, Charles had "victoriously and blessedly planted the cross in the virgin soil of Saxony". And finally, the most important thing, - the silent majesty of the crosier reigned beneficently and mediated alongside the power of the royal scepccr and swcrtcs."

Kent.s BriFrLaws

During his struggle, the king issued draconian laws, apparently whenever he thought he had finally subjugated the Saxons and was ready to impose order.

above all the Capitulatio de pzrribus Saxoniae(7 *) and the Capitulare Saxonicum (y9;r). And since the conversions to Christianity had been forced through mass baptisms, the Saxon people secretly adhered to paganism and detested the clergy, Charles insisted on the complete eradication of the old faith and its rites, the forced baptism of all Saxons and a complete ideological conversion. Of the fourteen provisions of the Cepi tulatio imposing the death penalty, ten relate solely to offenses against Christianity. He had also sought the Pope's advice beforehand and was also quite obviously guided by the missionary method of the Fulda monks to eradicate paganism, which began with ruthlessly carried out mass baptisms and the complete destruction of his sanctuaries.

A stereotypical -morte moriatur- is used to threaten everything that the preachers of the Good News wanted to eradicate: robbing and destroying churches, burning the dead, refusing baptism, secretly avoiding baptism, mocking the Christian faith, diminishing church property, offering pagan sacrifices, practising pagan customs, etc.

It sounds like this:

•). If someone forcibly enters a church and robs or steals something in it or sets fire to the church, he shall die.

q. If anyone does not keep the holy fast of forty days for the sake of Christ and eats meat, he shall die ...

7 If someone, according to pagan custom, has the body of a deceased person consumed by fire and his bones burnt to ashes, he dies.

8. If anyone in the future wants to **hide among the Saxon people** and does not want to be baptized because he wants to remain a pagan, he will die ...

io. If anyone plots with pagans against Christians and seeks to remain with them in enmity against Christians, let him die. And if anyone consents to this same crime against the king and the holy people, let him die.

Even breaking the commandment to fast was punishable by death! (Karl himself found fasting too repugnant; he complained that it was not good for his body).

It was ordered: Baptism in the first year of life' church attendance on all Sundays and holidays, taking the oath in the churches, even compliance with the church's marriage laws. As Alcuin had already criticized, "strict penalties were demanded for the most minor offences". {At Charles' court, however, people got quite mixed up at banquets attended by his daughters, and even clergymen are said to have -shrunk- at times).

Since the forcibly converted people had little or no interest in Christianity, they had to be coerced into maintaining the church. Everyone, nobles, freemen and lites, had to give a tithe of the proceeds from their land and all income to the church. In addition, each church had to receive two hooves, i.e. two farms, as well as one farmhand and one maid for every five inhabitants, which meant that the masses of Saxons were exploited even more than ever before."

The Christian Johannes von Walter asks in view of the gray the Saxon laws seemingly without guile: -Has Charles acted here in the interests of the representatives of the Church? It can hardly be assumed that his actions met with much approval - so much falsehood and mendacity in two lines! But the question is asked in the volume -Dic Nation vor Gott. On the Message of the Church in the Third Reich -. The question is

*934 Yet Charles had carried out these decades of Saxon (and other) slaughter1 with the closest support of the Church and, of course, entirely in its interests. The decisive factor for the Church was the fight for Christianity,

which Charles led so visibly in Saxony and Spain. Through the pagan war, his activities corresponded to the ecclesiastical view of the Christian empire ...- (Zöllncr)."

Nothing is evident anymore. And Einhard, whose report on Charlemagne is of particular importance, once remarks that the battle that had lasted so many years was only ended on the condition that the Saxons renounce their "devil cult" {daemonum cut- tu), that they accept the Christian faith and the holy sacraments and unite with the Franks as one people. Charles' war aim could hardly have been stated more clearly and convincingly: The destruction of paganism, the spread of Christianity and annexation.

In the {Catholic) "Handbook of Church History", the Saxon Wars are under the heading: -"The rounding off of the Frankish Empire." That's how it can be titled, without a trace of barbarism or blood. Simple and clean! "The rounding off - sounds smooth, almost elegant. It has a playful, almost artistic quality. As if it were a work of art, a work of state art. And for a great empire, isn't everything allowed anyway? At least as long as it is -successful-?

z. D ix PURCHASE AND REMOVAL OF GOODS (79Z-803)

While Charles was still bloodily subjugating the Saxons and Frisians, he simultaneously destroyed the Awan Empire founded in Hungary around 5yo, whose immediate neighbor he had become by defeating the Duke of Bavaria.

KARLS KUR2ER PROCESS WITH TASS1LO

8ayern had formed and developed in state, legal and social terms under the dominating leadership of the Agilolfinger dynasty. It was only with the two campaigns of Charles Martel that the country, although perhaps not yet under the suzerainty of the Franks, became dependent on them, which grew considerably after the heavy defeat of the Bavarian army in 743 (p. 3*8 f.J.). The papacy, which at the time was ruled by Herzng Odilo had shamefully betrayed his son Tassilo when Charles overthrew him.

TaSsilo 111 l74i-7 "g), d-' i'='e Agilolfinger, whose From the beginning of his reign, he was under the sovereignty of his uncle, Pippin, the household emperor, devoted to the clergy like few princes, above all for the sake of eternal love and terrible horror, in order to escape the devil's curse and earn the heavenly hall. He promoted spirituality in every way. He protected the priests with a high salary and the bishops with an unbelievable salary. He favored the mission of the Anglo-Saxons and Boniface. He brought in martyrs, the Lnichnam Valentine to Pass*<74), the Corbinians to Frei-

* *ß (7 J). He filled Bavaria with churches, with monastic dwellings and gifted them more lavishly than any of his Predecessors. He probably founded the monasteries of Mattsee, Münchsmünster, Pfaffeninünster, Wessobrunn, but certainly the monastery of lnnichen in the Pustenal, -in order to lead the unbelieving Slavs onto the path of truth-, and 7s the unusually generous Kremsmünster monastery in Traungau, also as an outpost and support for the Slavic mission, to secure his rule over the pagans.

Missionary, political and economic motives are inextricably linked here, as is so often the case.

Ut'rr1iauptdehn'nTasrilo extended Bavarian rule ever further to the south and east, with monastery **foundations playing an important preparatory role, which cntscheidwd-**

However, the role played by a war. tm year 7V namely the Hcr-

the bishops and the nobility of Bavaria through a certain • Clemens Peregrinus - called for a crusade against the pagans of Carantania, a land that mainly encompassed present-day Carniola and parts of Upper and Central Styria. Slavic princes ruled there until German counts took their place in 8z8. -May God grant the Bavarians victory against their enemies, like Gideon once did; may God give Tassilo courage, like Samson; may God be with them as with David, who defeated Goliath. God …-erc.Tassilo led the -crusade", marched to Carinthia, deprived the Carantanians of their political independence and thus inaugurated the beginning of German rule there until recent times {Waldmüller). "This victory of T'issifor lff. *over the Styrians determined the rule of the* Germans *over the* Stanzas *for more than a millennium* and at the same time brought Germany and the Christian mission into the same front (Klebel)."

In the early seventies, Tassilo had his son Theodo baptized and anointed by Pope Hadrian I. And his hemogogy also possessed quasi-royal power, the only the nomen *regium* was missing- (Schlesinger)- <* 7 • -on the occasion of his visit to Rome, Charles agreed with Hadrian on joint action against Tassilo. In the same year Two of the king's envoys and two bishops appointed by the pope approached the duke and urged him to renew the oath of fealty he had once made to Pippin. Tassilo initially relented, but then resisted again and asked the pope to 7 mediation. However, he not only flatly refused, but threatened to Tassilo and his accomplices with the anarhem if he did not obey Charles in everything. Indeed, he declared that a possible Franconian war of aggression against him would be a "just war". If the duke is not moved by my words to stand by his duty, Charlemagne and his army will be absolved of all sin and relieved of responsibility for the sacking, killing and all acts of harm done to the detriment of Tassilo and his accomplices - Kart, on the other hand, promised absolution from the outset for all possible harm that he might bring to the 8ayans. And when this 77 with three

Hceren advanced concentrically against Bavaria, he met with no serious resistance. The Bavarian greats, namely the bishops (Heuwieser), naturally went with the strongest. Tassilo surrendered without a fight, renewed his oath of allegiance and received his duchy back as a fiefdom.

The very next year, however, Tassilo was summoned to the Imperial Diet in lngelheim, where Charles immediately arrested and disarmed him. At the same time, Tassilo's wife, children and servants were arrested in Bayem and also brought here. Only then, at the imperial assembly, did "supporters of a party hostile to Tassilo" (Sprigade) led by the Bavarian episcopate, along with people who had come to IiigeI heim in his entourage, accuse him of an alleged alliance with the Awareti, and he was formally put on trial. However, not for treason, which apparently could not be proven, but because of his - ay years ago! - 7*3 i- Aqui- tanien committedi desertion (hATisliz; cf. Ä. j 3O).

Much darkness hangs over this day - as over the disappearance of the

the Heden dukes in Mainfrnnken and the Alemannic dukes to y4o (Bosl). The assembly unanimously condemned the duke to death. Charles, allegedly "moved by compassion", according to the official annalist, "out of love for God and because the same was his blood relative", commuted the death sentence to imprisonment in a monastery, which was equivalent to life imprisonment - and appeared to his contemporaries as the benevolent, God-fearing father of the land. In fact, he acted in a remarkably ruthless and power-obsessed manner, making everything seem like a c l e v e r l y arranged scene - "a game set up from the very beginning" (Epperlein).

Tassilo was made a monk in St. Goar on July 6 and then taken to the monastery of Jumiéges near Rouen. However, after six years in the monastery, probably in Lorsch, Kort yyq brought him to Frankfurt on an imperial and ecclesiastical errand, where he begged his pardon in a disgusting farce for everything he had done to him, Charles, and the Franks, and also for his sons and daughters in writing for the Duchy of Bavaria and the Duchy of St. Goisern.

renounce his personal possessions. {He had of course already confiscated the ducal treasure in his favor7ga). The rex piissimus, whose mercy the Annales Laureshamenscs expressly praise in this context

He wanted to destroy not only Tassilo, but the entire dynasty. Yet even now Charles forgives him, assures him of his favor and, as it says, accepts him back into his love, as he is "safe in the future through God's mercy".

The duke had to forego Charles' mercy. In order to finally collect his land, the king had not only had Tassilo, but also his wife Liutpcrga, the daughter of the Lombard king Desiderius, imprisoned behind monastery walls, as well as her wages and her daughters; Rotrud in Soissons and Gotani in Chelles, here supervised by Charles' own sister. Tassilo's eldest son Theodo was brought to St. Maximin in Trier, the monastery prison of her second son Theopert is not known.

Tsssilo died in Laurisham Monastery (Lorsch) on the Rhine; when,

one does not know. King Desiderius had also died in a monastery prison at the hands of Charles. And Hunald, the father o f Duke Waifar of Aquitaine {p.i73), probably also ended up there after h e had already been in a monastery for zy years.

The Bavarian king had once again allowed himself to be carried away to an uprising during his stay,7 8. Bavaria became a Frankish province, ruled first by "stadholders" and then by sub-kings. And the Bavarian church, Tassilo's

The most important instrument of government, richly endowed by him, passed to Charles.'*

With Tassilo's 111th deposition and capture at Ingelheim

7 Bavaria was a Frankish province and the Avar Empire became the

immediate neighbors of the Franks.

IT IS OBVIOUSLY A HOT WAR

Under pressure from the Turkic peoples {actually Turkic peoples, Turks), the Avars, a presumably proto-Mongolian tribal and equestrian people from Central Asia belonging to the Huns, stormed westwards. In the second half of the eighth century, they occupied the Theian Plain and the entire middle Danube region for more than two hundred years. They were already on the eastern edge of Germania around Joo and were opposed by the Merovingian Sigibert 1 in the next decade, when they began to establish a vigorously governed kingdom between the Eastern Alps and the Black Sea under the Khagan Baian. y6i defeated them on the middle Elbe, but had to buy a tribute peace five years later.

They continued to attack the Balkans with large masses of Slavic auxiliaries. Some of the Germen and Sarmatians living around the Danube mixed with them. In 5o6, allied with the Lombards, they destroyed the East Germanic Gepidcn {p. red). And when the latter moved to Italy in 68, the Avars and Slavs invaded the abandoned Pannonian-Norse regions, becoming the Bavarians' eastern neighbors. For the time being, however, their direction of attack still tended southwards, above all towards Constantinople, whose allies they had once been, but which they enclosed from the European side with Slavs, Gepids, Bulgars and other auxiliary peoples, while the Persians sealed it off on the Asian side. The small Slavic fleet was destroyed and the land army chafed against the impregnable walls. When famine and epidemics forced the Avars to retreat, whereupon the Persians also withdrew, the khagan's reputation among his subjects and allies was shaken and his rule was removed by the Slavic auxiliary peoples: among the Sudeten Slavs, the Bulgars and in Dalmatia. Although the Avars once again gained power

^= 7 They dominated the slavcn of their Machrbercich with nine fortified camps surrounded by a ring-shaped w'all, the so-called "Awarenrings": support points in which Le-

The Awarians were the first to amass a wealth of weapons, spoils of war and immense treasures, with the center of Avar power believed to be east of the Vienna Woods. But then Charles took action against them and gave them the death blow."

After he seized Bavaria - from 788 onwards, people in the Bavarian documents the years "since King Charles acquired Bavaria", it was placed even more in the service of the Avar and Slav mission, war and preaching in the south-east were continued all the more, whereby the Annales rcgni Francorum cite the Avars' hostility towards Christians as the main reason for the opening of hostilities, the allegedly all too great and intolerable atrocity that the Avars had committed against the Holy Church and the Christian people, because no satisfaction could be gained by sending them away.In reality, the king, a notorious conqueror, wanted to expand, he obviously wanted the land between the Enns and Danube as a "Pan-Norman march".

The Avars had advanced to Bavaria and Ireland with two armies7 to rescue Tassilo, but arrived too late and were repulsed everywhere. Many thousands of them
died on the battlefields or fled into the Danube. And79* --iefi Karl, while at the same time Italian troops under the Duke of Istria invaded the Awan Empire from the southwest with two further large contingents of troops.
into Hungary. He ravaged the country far and wide as far as the Raab - not without having prepared everything accordingly for the church.

-with God's help- it had begun, as always. And when on y. September to the Enns, the border to the Avars, mart first held three days of supplications, with "all-, as Karl writes to his wife Fastrada, -barfuS" going along. In addition, there were church services after church services. Every bishop and priest had three masses, every canon and monk three psalters to celebrate.
-The whole thing also promoted general fasting. The whole thing promoted general fasting. But from this one could

already bought off - one acquired the "license" to drink wine or eat meat in exchange for cield. With all of this, they were seeking -God's Trosı-* writes the imperial annalist, -for the defense of the army and the help of our Lord Jesus Christ and for victory and revenge on the Avars". They are soon overcome by "terror from the Lord" because "Christ led his people" - and the most Christian king, one may say; accompanied by his archchaplain, the bishop of Metz, Angil- ram, who died in the process, the bishop of Sindpcrt of Regerısburg, who fell in the process, the bishops Arno of Salzburg, Atto of Freisiıig and many other clerics. They all finally set about their pious work - "a tremendous task was accomplished, which brought the seed of Christianity to the seeds where Charlemagne's sword had plowed the furrows" (Daniel Rops).

However, as the Avars were not prepared to engage in a field battle, as the wooded and swampy country hampered the offensive and, in addition, an epidemic broke out in the army, devouring nine tenths of the horses and thousands of animals, which made any further pursuit impossible, the first attack had to be aborted without a decision. After all, Kan - who was -obviously waging a holy war here, -at the end of which could now be the complete defeat and conversion of the enemy-' (Knlck- hoff) - is said to have dragged away a large prey from his sacred undertaking as well as a large number of prisoners.

Nor did he give in. In the next yes *. 79*, he left a
to build a movable bridge to make it easier to cross the Dorian. And 7s3 he ordered a "large ditch", the "Karlsgraben", to connect the Main with the Danube, linking the center of Franconia with the southeast - the only known attempt at canal construction in the early Middle Ages (certainly mainly due to Straregian reasons), which of course failed due to continuous rainfall and technical difficulties."

yq5, Frankish troops under Charlemagne's son Pippin, Un-

The Avars in southern Hungary were again attacked by the king of Italy and Margrave Erich of Friuli. This led to an uprising and the murder of their princes. The main "ring" (kürijän, camp), the most important fortress in the interior of the country, was conquered, the Avar royal castle plundered, an enormous amount of gold and silver, weapons and jewelry, which had been piled up for centuries, was looted and sent to Charles in Aachen, who donated part of it to the bishops with a generous hand.

the Pope, even to England, even to the Pope, even to him

-a large part-. The whole of western Christendom rejoiced "in the treasure received by the grace of Christ".

And soon it was enjoying itself again. For the very next year, when Tudun, an Avar prince, was baptized in Aachen, Charlemagne's son Pippin, accompanied once again by bishops, the chief shepherds of Salzburg, Passau and Aquileia, invaded the Ring from Italy, which he destroyed. Prior to this, however, he had taken out huge spoils, precious objects and precious metals, and also sent them to Aachen, where a special treasury was probably set up at the time. (In the 6th and 7th centuries, the Avar kha- gans had received annual payments of up to wo ooo solidi from Byzantium; due to the sudden influx, the value of the precious metal in the Frankish Empire is said to have fallen by a third). Fifteen four-horse-drawn ox wagons had to carry the immense plunder from the Holy War to St. Charles in Aachen. One does not remember, raves Einhard, that the Franks ever enriched themselves more through booty in any other **war.** And although he was a layman (who nevertheless stood at the head of several churches), he adds with a pawsome twist of the tongue - that one can rightly say that the Franks rightfully took from the Huns what they h a d unlawfully stolen from other peoples in the past.

But the campaigns to subjugate the Avars continued for a long time, as late as797. 799. 3oz, 803 there were military campaigns. -The margraves of Friuli and Eastern Margraviate were probably at the forefront.

in the fight" (Zöllner); "almost every year a new action-

{Brackmannj.

The war's actuality is, of course, controversial. The Reichsanna- len probably conceal its severity. Other sources report great cruelty on the part of the Franks. Einhard also writes that Charlemagne fought the war more passionately and with greater effort.

led than all others, -mic greatest stubbornessLcir". -The completely deserted Parinonicn and the devastation of the Khan's residence, where not a trace of human life can be found, bear witness to the many bloody battles f o u g h t **in those** years. The entire Hun nobility and the and his fame perished in the process.

The Avars repeatedly rose up against their oppressors, killing•• 79 s Margrave Erich of Friuli near Fiume in the battle for the high-altitude castle Tersatto{Tarsatica), soon afterwards the royal prefect tstatthalter) before Bavaria, Gerold I, Charles's brother-in-law, a particularly talented and valiant warhorse whose memory remained alive, especially in Reichenau Abbey. -martyr-like (Störmer). Margraves Erich Kadaloh and Gotchramm also perished in the war. But in 803 the whole of western Hungary, as far as the vicinity of present-day Belgrade, was declared -Pan- nonian Margraviate loosely incorporated into the Frankish Empire.

8z6 the Avars are mentioned one last time. 5They actually disappear from history. And nothing during Charlemagne's reign impressed the contemporary and later historians and poets, who glorified the king's son Pippin, the leader of the campaigns, in numerous poems, more than the plundering of the vast Avar treasure and the total destruction of the Avar empire - even a century later, reference is still made to the "desert east of the Bavarians". And even in the zo. Century, historians were still enthusiastic about this achievement of the -great- Franconian, staring madly at the consequences, the consequences of the misery, the new misery, the continued bloodshed, the continued robbery. Yes, again it was of course a -great deed, "an incomparable merit of Charlemagne for German history" (Heuwieser). For: -Ofine *Auiarenkrieg Karls no* Wenden ge *Heinrichs des Löwen* mi- *ne* Preu$etizI?ge *the German knights* (Klebcl). And of course

it is precisely this work of the king that constitutes "for the ecclesiastical history of Austria ... an epoch-making section tTomek).

But while the king and the church were swimming in the bloodily plundered empire, misery and famine were rampant among the people. Just as famine recurred throughout Charles's reign, chronic malnutrition prevailed, begging was frequent, and not only as a result of natural disasters, floods, epidemics, for example, but of course also and precisely because of the appalling social conditions, the constant fleecing by the potentes, the ruling class: by the burden of levies, tax demands in excess of the authorized rate, by inflated prices, false measures, by indebtedness, pawning, theft of property, whereby the poor had not only been oppressed but despised since the Christian Merovingian period, the propertied felt harassed by them, usually set dogs on beggars in times of need, even bishops had to be forbidden from driving beggars away with packs of dogs. In the Carolingian period, churches and monasteries - only a few people, selected by the K1erus (Mollat) - seem to have regularly supported beggars, and they had to make all kinds of sacrifices for this privilege.

lu Notzciten aBen the poor bread from grape seeds, fern roots and grass. Quite a few Carolingian annals at least record the famines7*‹ -were recorded in
Gaul and Germania, a third of the population died.
Some brought the starving into the house, killed them and put them in salt - people for people, brothers for their brothers, mothers for their children. What could be done about it? Pierre Riché writes: -'One could only pray more often to bring about the end of this terrible time."

However, those who taught the starving and sometimes starving people to pray fared well, many of them even better. For just as they profited from the slaughter of the Saxons, they also profited from the Avar war. It made itself felt, especially for the Austrian church.

through the millennium, up to sacularization of 1803, who so i "imens hegütert."

ONCE AGAIN: WAR PROFITEERING CHURCH

Just as Charlemagne's Saxon wars opened up Saxony to the Christian mission, so his, according to Ranke, almost spiritual Avar wars opened up the area up to the Raab, the new Pannonian March (western Hungary), a wide area, apparently more Slavic than Avar. Others had already preached freely there, and the monasteries founded by Tassilo 111, such as Lnnichen or Kremsmünster, had already carried out a systematic Slav conversion, to which the corresponding work of the bishoprics was added. The Slavic population in Avar Pannonia is said to have already been converted to Christianity by the Irish monk-bishop Virgil of Salzburg (p. 3zi f.), who was banned by Rome and Boniface.

Incidentally, it is difficult to say who promoted this "south-eastern colonization", this "unification" of the eastern Alpine region and beyond, the monasteries, the episcopal churches or some {other) high nobles, and it also varies from case to case. But there is no doubt that warriors and missionaries, secular and spiritual rule, Germanization and Christianization worked together everywhere. For the church, which was given the lands, had to Christianize the plundered territories and bind the unconquered population to the Frankish empire.

Even before the attack, Pippin had discussed the Christianization of the Avars with the archbishops Am of Salzburg, Paulinus of Aquileia and other prelates in his encampment on the banks of the Danube, and probably also the division of the conquered land into missionary districts. The archbishops and bishops of the neighboring territories also accompanied the invaders: Am of Salzburg, a favorite of Charles {and s e l d o m 79
Archbishop: a consequence of the Avar wars), moved with the Bavarian
the Patriarch Paulinus of Aquileia with the Italian

troops. (His successor, Patriatch Ursus, soon quarrelled with Archbishop Am, as their missionaries were clashing, presumably in the Villach area, and neither of them could get enough!}

Aquileia had received extensive estates after the war, and the large Bavarian dioceses of Salzburg, Freising, Regensburg and Passau had also acquired rich possessions everywhere. And in the q. In the 16th century they extended further and further: Regensburg in Burgenland and southern Slovakia; Freising in Carinthia, the Dolomites; Passau as far as the Vienna Woods and the Raab; Salzburg a s far as Pannonia, towards Lake Balaton and the mouth of the Drava. All the fruits of the victorious raid. These -builders- of the monasteries settled as far as Lake Balaton and Fünfkirchen. The Germans preferred to settle along the Danube, while the Slavs moved to the smaller rivers. Sclavi now became synonymous with servi, serfs. Enslavement and the spread of the Good News were inextricably linked; here too, state and church worked hand in hand. Just as the conqueror was followed by the m issionary, both were followed by enslavement."

The Panonian Margraviate, which had been captured and then Christianized by Charles in this way, was lost again in 8y5 during the Magyar land seizure, and Christianity was partially destroyed. However, the Bavarian bishoprics and monasteries held on to their possessions in the country, for better or worse (Dünnen- bauer). And after the expulsion of the Hungarians, they resumed their activities here: Passau, Salzburg, Brixen, Regensburg, Eichstätt, Frei- sing, many monasteries, especially Niederalteich and Tegernsee. After all, they had the essential prerequisites for any major colonization: people and resources, the necessary listeners and the necessary money. Christianity was able to spread there again in the second and third centuries and finally establish itself under Stephen the Saint: a basis for further pious colonization.

-Reaching out to the East through the Crusades! The first three l*<9 9P. **47'**49, I i89- iqa) led through Hungary, which had become Christian, to the Orient.-°

But before that, it was the Slavs' turn.

3. HESYSTEMATIC OFFENS IYE AGAINST THE S LAWEN BEGINS

Although there had been occasional conflicts between Franks and Slavs long before Charles I (cf. S, *z36 I.1*), their gradual infiltration into Thuringia, Bavaria, as far as the Naab and Regen, Main and Regnitz (-Reichswenden-), the advance of

The conquest of land by people of Serbian and Bohemian origin7- and the 8th century was not stopped by the Frankish authorities, either because they could not or because they did not want to. The Slavic conquest of land in the 8th century in the area on the upper

The conquest of the Main is even said to have taken place in agreement with the empire. However, as the first ruler of the Franks, Charles initiated a systematic anti-Slavic policy and also interfered in internal Slavic relations, making various neighboring tribes subject to tribute as far as the Oder.

It was the destruction of the Avar pond that marked the beginning of the Christianization of the Moravian Slavs. They came under Frankish rule shortly after the first campaign 7s* s<gefi the Avars."

However, this new ef 0g did not stop the royal aggression to the east. Now it was Bohemia's turn, already surrounded on three sides by the Frankish Empire. And hardly had

Once Charles had finally overcome the Saxons and Avars, he set in motion another major war venture. In 8oy, the year in which his Diedenhofcner Capitulare restricted the trade in arms with Slavs, he threw three armies against the Bohemians, in the Frankish sources Beheimi (Boemani) and Cichu-Windones

{Czech Wends). Under the leadership of his eldest son Charles, he had Bohemia attacked from three sides and ravaged beyond the Elbe, on which a fourth army with ships advanced as far as Magdeburg. And while his troops literally wreaked havoc, even killing Lecho, the Duke of Bohemia, His Majesty himself once again spent months hunting in the Vosges.

Of course - -the real hunt was the manhunt, the

War {Riché). As early as 8o6, a new campaign was launched against the Bohemians, which was actually just a repetition of the last one. Once again, three columns of troops advanced from Bavaria, over the Fichel Mountains and from the north against the Bohemians, who had escaped into the impassable forests. They also subjugated the Slavic tribes settling east of the Limes Sorabicus and forced taxes, gold, silver and cattle, which the Bohemians paid at least until the middle of the second century. Further successful attacks against the pagans in the east and north followed. In 8o6 Charles ordered a war against the Elbe Slavs, the Bohemians' neighbors. After one of their princes had been killed, they s u b m i t t e d . And finally the Wilzes were also subdued.

Bohemia, the Wilzes and the Avars were, as Notker the Progenitor, the monk of St. Gall, praised by his warrior Eishere from Thurgau, who was traveling in a Catholic retinue, "mowed like grass in the meadow". Seven, eight or nine of these

-He used to carry around "toads" (rariunculi) on his "lance". And our Monachus Sangallensis let his Thurgau fighter add quite a Christian touch:

-Urinützer Weise, Mr. King and I have come to terms with this Worm stuff (vermiculos) -^'

What the Slavs were to the monk of the q. century, after all a blessed man of the Catholic Church, were 'toads' - and

-They have remained for m a n y Christians for many centuries.

From the turn of the century onwards, the Slavic mission was a priority for the emperor. Whether this was more about Christianization or the imposition of tribute obligations remains to be seen. Every refusal to pay tribute was regarded as an uprising and a reason for a new war. However, the ongoing campaigns and the - also throughout the q. Century - b g' - Prinsip -divide et impera-- (Novj) had to prevent any firm union of the Sorbian tribes.

Particularly noteworthy is the fact that the war against the Bohemia

shortly after Pope Leo III's visit to Charles in 8oJ.

and now the offensives against the Slavs were conducted systematically, in contrast to all earlier, quickly passing confrontations. -It was only with the sending of the Avarius booty to the pope and the founding of the archbishopric of Salzburg that a systematic approach was adopted, and these events are in turn connected ... with
the alliance between Charlemagne and Leo III in79 *u$. Charlemagne's alliance with Rome was at the beginning of the Carolingian Slavic empire (Brackmann).

At the end of all these raids, a quarter of today's south-eastern Europe was under Frankish sovereignty: Böhnieri, Moravia, western Tynrn and the north-western Balkari."

8o8 and &io Charles still led campaigns against the Danes - defensive wars in exceptional cases. King Göttrik attacked northern Albingia in 8o8, destroyed the Baltic port of the Abodrites, which competed with the Danish ports, raided Friesland two years later with a fleet of aoo ships and defeated the peace in three battles. Charles' defense was not very successful, and Göttrik threatened to move against Aachen soon. Charles, who was expecting a dangerous, perhaps even catastrophic blow, inspired his fleet and drummed up troops throughout the empire. But the Danish king did not come. One of his most loyal guards had killed him.

The expansionary power of the Franks was now exhausted, as was the belligerence of many, especially the free peasants; and the land hunger of the nobility was largely satiated. The next year, Charles made peace with the Danes (whose country was torn apart by throne and party struggles) - and immediately afterwards chased three armies in different directions, -one across the Elbe against the Linons, which devastated their territory and restored the fortress of Höhbeck on the Elbe, which had been destroyed by the Wiltzes the previous year, the other to the Pannonian lands to put an end to the disputes with the Huns and Slavs, and finally the third against the Bretons to punish them for their disloyalty. All of them carried out their mission happily and returned without loss (Annales regni Francorum)."

The loss was always on the other side. Quite overwhelming. And so was the misfortune. But the Frankish sources barely mention this, only hint at it, at best - as historians usually do (and I am only talking about the *'normal case'* here, as I always do). They just stick to what they read. What else? Is that not correct? Precisely not. For where so much triumph is reported, so much victory and salvation, there is always much of the opposite, and not only among the occupants. But the singers, from the old annalists to the scholars of today, are largely silent about this. They all lie on the ßauch before Charlemagne.

Why? But not because of the - to name it once - Carolingian Renaissance? Which, according to motif and context, was above all connected with the -reform- of the Frankish church; which, like the latter, had essentially the same objective, thus also served no one more than the church; the clergy and monks, their - usually! - minimum o f knowledge, education, the emendation of Christian opera in particular, the Old and New Testaments, the church fathers ... The creation of a German grammar and the collection of Germanic literature, for example, had already been discontinued under Charlemagne's son and successor Louis the Pious

Of course, no one denies a certain benefit i n other areas, such as the tradition of ancient classical texts. But this was not the main focus. And anyway, the Carolingian Renaissance was also a fruit of the Carolingian wars. Whatever else may speak in favor of this Frankish king, it would be inconceivable without these wars. Only they, only this brutal outbreak of thousands of injustices and suffering, only this terror many thousands of times over for the benefit of the empire and the church helped Charles I to gain the - great- tribute. But who was that? The empire? The church? The nobility and the clergy. Especially the high nobility, the high clergy. They alone became the great profiteers. For even the masses of their own people, qo, q5 percent, perhaps even more, had nothing of it.

Not even peace in their own country - because the wars in Bavaria and Saxony were, at least at times, civil wars.

ONE IN CRIME - ONE IN HOLINESS

-Karolus serenissimus augustus a Deo coronatus magnus pacificus" tKarl, the most illustrious, God-crowned, great and peace-bringing emperor), as the beginning of his circumstantial ti- mer' 'i' Aoi lzurete, this peace-bringing, God-crowned and also -per misericordiam Dei- (by the mercy of God) reigning emperor, who since 8oz also called himself "imperator chfistianis- simus- and (allegedly) died with the words of the 3i. Psalm: "Into your hands, Lord, I commend my spirit-, this man had organized one massacre after another, in his q6year reign, before7 8 to 8iJ, almost continued

War waged, almost $o campaigns, only in two years, y9o and 8oy, he did not slaughter - "a happy time for the church" (Daniel Rops). No wonder, then, that in the Chansons de geile, the French heroes of the High Middle Ages, he rides into battle with the boldest of his warriors, already two hundred and more years old. He fought the Lombards, Saxons, Frisians, Bavarians, Avars, Slavs, the Basques, the Arabs in Spain, the Byzantines in southern Italy, in almost all coldly calculated wars of aggression, and in the process he drove countless people to their deaths, often gruesome and painful deaths. However, he not only murdered in wars, but also had 4i°o prisoners killed and thousands of families expelled - or, as one of the earliest liturgical poems by Charlemagne puts it, "cast down t h o u s a n d s , cleansed the earth of pagan weeds [!], converted the unbelievers, smashed the idols, expelled the foreign gods". According to his biographer Einhard, the Saxon and Avar wars were more important to him than all other political tasks. And how

then church circles of the io. It was precisely ecclesiastical circles of the 20th century t h a t emphasized the Saxon Wars as his most important work for the Christian mission.*'

This is not the only reason, although it is bad enough, that Charles or G roBe - as good as non-stop {with the exception of winters mostly) slaughtered, subjugated, enslaved, that he was nothing so bad as a warrior, conqueror, murderer and robber on the largest scale - this, the most learned scholars have been teaching us for a long time, was, so to speak, the (good) style of the time, to censure it is a terrible anachronism, judged from our - enlightened- {in reality still just as conquering, murdering and robbing) time, is moreover inappropriately judicial, rigoristic, morally petty, small-minded. No, it is also about the fact that "Charlemagne" stirred up this whole immense blood swamp with the most intensive participation of Christianity and the Church of his time {which of course were also time-bound! The point is that the Christian feudal state and the Christian feudal church were as good as one, one precisely in crime.

For Charles, whose actual "Sraatsbuch" was the Bible and whose favorite works included Augustine -Gottesstaat-, ruled and acted not only as king of the Franks, but also as the declared "protector" of the Church, as a partner and ally of the Pope, as his legislation, his correspondence with the clergy and his closest collaborators testify. This monarch was a kind of royal priest, was - rector ct devotus sanctae ecclesiae defensor et adiutor in omnibus- (I-enker and defender and supporter devoted to the holy church in all matters).

Empire and church are inextricably linked in the Imperium christianum, court and councils are barely distinguishable. Charles convened synods, presided over them, appointed bishops and abbots at his own discretion and established the bishoprics he needed in Saxony himself. He let the popes go when he was elected for his

Avar attack needed an archbishopric, to which he elevated Salzburg. And he disposes of the church property. He enriched the popes with land, as well as the bishops. He grants them numerous immunity privileges and threatens the violation of ecclesiastical immunity with a tenfold royal ban of 6oo solidi. He gives bishops customs privileges and grants them the right to mint coins. He has church robbery and arson punished with death. Above all, however, he decrees a general tax duty in favor of the Kremlin, and *he* collects the tithes for the *bishop's churches*. He also bequeathed three quarters of his cash treasury to the church, which kept him particularly busy in his last years (while his children and grandchildren together received only one twelfth of his bequest, as much as the court dower). And even if the prelates d e p e n d e d entirely on him, their influence had grown considerably under him, whom at least all Frankish prelates recognized as the general head of the church; they went to war with Charles, established themselves as judges alongside the counts and played the leading role at the royal court."

The ruler's inner circle of associates and friends

The archbishop Beornrad of Sgns, the oatriarch of Aquileia8, Paulinus, the bishop Theodulf of Orléans, the Anglo-Saxon Alcuin, former head of the monastic school of York, then abbot of Saint-Martin in Tours, who had an almost decisive influence on imperial policy. His closest confidants, who were particularly influential in court life, included several other abbots: his cousin Adalhard, Abbot of Corbic, and his successor, Abbot Wala of Corbie, also Charles's cousin. Angilbert, the abbot of Saint-Riquief, who, incidentally, also gave Charles' young daughter Bertha, aged fifteen and twenty, a son each (Hartnid and Nirhard, the historian) and was venerated as a saint as a result of the miracles at his tomb, had an even stronger influence on the monarch. He appears as a saint in a visa of the sixteenth century.

Abbot Fulrad of Saint-Denis was initially the head of the court chapel and was the leading figure among

Charles' helpers of the early period". His successor was Bishop An- gilram of Metz, who died7 i on the Avar campaign, and his successor was Archbishop Hildibald of Cologne, who -under Earl took first place in his Aachen palatinate (Fleckenstein). The court chapel, in itself a purely ecclesiastical institution, was consistently given more and more political weight. Its head, the arch-chaplain (with the rank of archbishop without an archiepiscopal office), was the monarch's first advisor and one of the highest dignitaries in the realm. Under Charlemagne, only clergymen carried out the written administrative work, which under the Merovingians was carried out by so-called referendarii, mostly laymen. The court chapel was connected to the center of the government, the court chancellery, which w a s completely clericalized under the Carolingians and headed by the chancellor or archchancellor, usually a cleric. {From the middle of the q. Since the middle of the q. century, the fimt of the arch-chancellor and arch-chancellor was united in Germany. And finally, the primate of the realm, the Archbishop of Mainz, also became the highest official of the king)."

But even outside the central government, the largely clericalized royal capella and the chancery, the Frankish clergy had a great and varied influence on public events. Church dignitaries held purely political offices. Alongside the counts, they had to look after the kingdom, which was divided into 3oo counties. They also acted as royal envoys (missi dominici), a particularly effective instrument of central government, but not a popular one, not least because of the high costs involved. (A bishop who came in this capacity could collect forty loaves of bread a day for himself and his entourage, three boars, a suckling pig, three hens, three modii of drink and four modii of fodder for the horses). - In the later q. and early io. In the later q. and early io. century, the office of royal messenger was even linked in principle with the office of bishop in Italy. -We are sent here-, begins the address of such a messenger that has been preserved to us, -by our Lord, the Emperor Charles, for the sake of your eternal salvation, and we command

to live virtuously according to the law of God and righteously according to the law of the world. First of all, we want you to know that you must believe in the *only* God, the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit …– These missi dominici, whose activities in the respective places usually began with a divine service, controlled the judicial, military and administrative systems several times a year and therefore held inquisition courts. Along with the counts, bishops and abbots also took part in the imperial assembly every spring, which w a s associated with the mustering of troops, either at the royal seat or in the respective military deployment area. Bishops such as abbots also had to deal with military matters and, of course, also had to provide army contingents and even lead them i n t o battle, contrary to canon law; indeed, they *often* commanded larger armies themselves.

But just as the clergy intervened in the state, so did the king in the church. In his capitularies, he regulated the sanctification of Sunday, church services and the admission of novices to monasteries. He took care of the furnishing of prayer houses, the organization of church services, the training and lifestyle of the clergy. In 790, he introduced the so-called Sacramentarium Hadrianum, i.e. the founding order of the Roman Mass. He often turned church laws into imperial laws, and offenses against the imperial laws were threatened with ecclesiastical punishment.

Charles even interfered in dogmatic matters, such as the Adoptianism controversy, and wanted to eradicate this unhealthy plague by any means and hand over the Spanish heretics to the Saracens. He acted zealously in the iconoclastic controversy {p. 34P -).

where he stood against the Pope, which is whyz94 •'• groBes, Council of Western Bishops called by the king794 * Frankfurt refuted the teachings of the image worshippers. After all, he felt himself to be the "representative of God", as he described in his first letter to

Leo III wrote, as -Lord and Father, King and Priest, Leader and Shiite of all Christians-. On the other hand, Pope Hadrian I already praised$_S$: Charles, the King of the Franks and Lango-

bards and Patricius of the Romans, had - obeying our admonitions - annexed the barbarians of the whole East and West to his rule.

Now, "the Great" was also personally a devout Catholic, who w a s so fond of representing Christian morality to his subjects and inculcating it into the souls of the poor, but who himself not only did not hesitate to bring the children of his brother Karlmann nm half of the Frankish kingdom, but who also destroyed everything else that was troublesome to him: his wife Himiltrud, who had already given him a son, the hunchbacked Pippin, before his first marriage, as well as his legitimate first wife, the daughter of the Lombard king. And who then had three more wives. All three died young of old illness; and the fourth, Liutgard, was already sharing his bed when the third, Fastrada, was still alive. In addition, without the court clergy raising the slightest objection, he had concubines, whom he even kept at court (four concubines are known by name, but there were others). He had eight illegitimate children with them, four sons and four daughters. They were born before, between and especially after the births of eleven legitimate children, four sons and seven daughters.

At the death of the beloved Hildegard[7 3}, the blessed of the Church, even the iron hearts of the warriors were moved to tears, their tongues were seen "never to be seen between shield and sword". And how moved Karl was! He had weakened them almost year after year, or at least every other year. (I read three different numbers from three hisorics: six, eight and ten children). But a few months 5p3ter heira-
he already had number three.

In general, the most Christian of rulers, who had placed virtue(s) so close to the hearts of his Franks, tolerated a loose, hedonistic life in his own home. While the church only permitted marital intercourse, and that only to make nm more Christians, without interrupting coitus and only in a single position, Charlemagne's daughters fornicated with their daughters.

Lovers - Alcuin warned of the -crowned doves that flit around the palace rooms. T h e r e w e r e even prostitutes in the royal palaces. And why not, when they also pacified the Frankish army, even the pilgrims in the places of pilgrimage, such as those at Saint-Martin in Tours, when there were (not only) many dirty cases of fornication in the monasteries at that time,

including sodomites among the monks. (Cf. also p. z§) - How different it w a s **in this respect with the pagan** Germanic tribes.

Charles, the father of the churches, as Theodulf of Orléans called him in 8oo, was also personally a zealous Christian, a practising Catholic who allegedly kept strict church fasts, regularly went to church first on his travels and even attended mass every day. He visited St. Mary's Church in Aachen several times a day, even at night. He liked to have Augustine's "De civitate Dei" read to him. He had an extensive arsenal of relics. As a talisman, he wore (fake, of course) hair of the Mother of God in a medallion - both in life and in death. He filled Aachen's basilica with {alleged) relics of apostles, martyrs, martyrs, virgins, for the protection of the empire and for t h e atonement of sins. Relics could also be placed under his stone throne there, and relics were placed in his tomb.

Aachen itself was known in the zk. Century as -sacra civitas- and generally, in Germany probably most surrounded by legends, to a -mythical city-, a kind of na-
(Meuthen), to a highly significant Wall-
fahrisort* not least because of St. Charles. He was celebrated by the church across the masses, was regarded as - rex et sacerdos", as a priest-king, as "marked with the name of Christ", his kingdom as -'Corpus christianum -, - imperium christianum -, yes, for the -Libri Caro1ini- Christ himself is -our king- (nosrer rex), -our emperor- (noster imperator). -Christ is victor, Christ is king, Christ is emperor, was the refrain of the Landes, the litanies that were sung in the Frankish Empire at the end of the 8th century.

sang in the presence of the king on high church holidays. And in Rome, he was commemorated in mass prayers and bent the knee at his name during the Lenten liturgy on Saturdays by order of Pope Hadri- an I. The Synod of Mainz 8i3 praises him as -the pious leader of the churches who
Monk Noiker of St. Gall (d. qiz) as -bishop of the
Bishop", yes -not in name, but in fact - as the image of God- (lion). Archbishop Odilbert of Milan as -illumined by the Holy Spirit-.'°

But that was not enough. After reports of healings and miracles at Charlemagne's tomb, Pope Paschal III, antipope of Alexander III, canonized him at the instigation of Emperor Frederick 1 and his chancellor Rainald von Dassel. Barbarossa cited Charlemagne's services to the church and faith as the reason for his canonization: Through his bckehrung of the barbarians, he became a -real apostle- (verus apostolus), and his efforts made him a -martyr" (cum martyrem fecit), and an arm bone of St. Charles was kept as a relic in a kosr- bar shrine. Pope Gregory IX confirmed the canonization; later popes did not declare it invalid, but rather allowed individual churches to venerate Emperor Charles as a saint. He appears in late medieval prayer books with his own prayer. In Aachen, he became the patron saint of the city, as which he was still venerated in the ty. century. In his history of the diocese of Hildesheim, Adolf Bertram, a cathedral chaplain at the time, writes that this Karl
-the Great -as his first founder and as a saint
adore."

A study from the year iW7 *lists no less than ro9 "places of worship of St. Charles", including Aachen (where the anniversary of Charles' death, z8. January - on which I celebrated my name day as a child - in the cathedral), Bremen,
Briissel, Dortmund, Frankfurt ("one of the main places of Charles worship": Kötzsche), Fulda, Halle, Engelheim, Cologne, Constance, Liège, Mainz, Minden, Münster, Nuremberg, Regensburg, Strasbourg, Trier, Vienna, Würzburg, Zurich. Also noteworthy,

The cult worship of Karl in the entire Saxon region

For centuries, Charlemagne was regarded as the ideal image of the master.

setters, and for many, far too many, it still is today.

Voltaire and Gibbon had denounced his barbarism and denied him personal greatness. Ranke, however, then even found him "too great for a biography, called his dignity - easily the greatest reign that h a s occurred", and in his - Wełtgeschichte-, where he did not give as much weight and attention to Alexander nocfi Caesar, nor to the Christian heroes Constantine or Otto I as he did to Charles, even "irrevocably banished the idea of moral {!] and historical greatness" with his *Nø mcri,*

In France, Napoleon was praised in the early i q. In France, Napoleon was praised as the reborn Charlemagne. After the founding of the German Empire in the i9th century, the Germans discovered Charlemagne. After the foundation of the German Empire in the ninth century, the Germans rediscovered Charles' Germanic and warlike spirit, and British scholars even considered whether it would be better to call him Charles rather than Charles.

In the fascist era, when the zzoo. In the middle of the Second World War, when the zoo. birthday of the -Great -Christ was celebrated, cr was portrayed as -Carl the Unifier", the -European- in an anti-communist, especially anti-Soviet sense, a ten- dence that was also used i n the Adenauer years, when the **Christian West** was **increasingly** mobilized **against** "godless communism". Significantly, it was Cardinal Frings of Cologne who was not only the first person in Germany to publicly call for the rearmament of the Germans, but who also stated in September Iyyz: --The realization of the ide- as to establish the empire of Charlemagne has never been so close as it is now.-'°

The Carolingian Empire, the -imperium Christianum-, as Alk "i""it g called it, the -rcgriurn sanctae *ccclesiøe*- {Libra Carolïni), stretched from the ! /North Sea to the Pyrenees and the Adriatic Sea. It encompassed present-day France, Belgium, Holland, western Germany, Switzerland, most of Italy, the Spa-

Marche and Corsica. It covered about i zoo ooo square kilometers, was almost as large as the Western Roman Empire, and almost everything in the northeast and south of this - kingdom of the church- was robbed. [1s]

ANNEX

NOTES ON THE FOURTH VOLUME

The full titles of the secondary literature cited on p. j6¡ ff., the complete titles of the most important source texts and abbreviations in the list of abbreviations on p. $9i ff. Authors from whom only one work **was** used **are usually only cited with their]"fames in the notes, the other works with sticky words.**

OVERVIEW

1 Rüger 3i i f.
2 Rosi, Fröhlichkeit qx. He, The Catholic Kitehe 2e, r2i
3 Huitinga zio, similar to Ull- man, curve Ccschichtc of the **Papsttums 8o f. u. v. a.**
4 HEG 1 by ff., sy f.,4 6 f. Scherr zit. n-ch Lohdc zj§. Ygl. c¢wa Kash - dan io8 ff. ßanniard i j f., i8 ff.
5 Gregorovius f i z§6t z7i
6 LMA II iaz7 ff. jäntcrc ty8 f. Lord, Krcuzzugc z y. ATivisatos i . Richards y6. Angeriendt, Friiltmittelalter z38. *g- -43. -w
7 Mk. 6,8 f. Int. io,io. Lk. q,3; io,d. Gregorovius I i zjq f., no ff., **267. Seidlmayer 48. Graus, Volk** 434- Desckner, again type f.
8 Kuhntr, Lexicon 8 ff. Haller, Die karolingtr und das Papstturn 8 ff.t esp. 6z. Heer, Krcuzzüge i ,fio. Schramm 1 xi 5 ff., esp. izo, xj¢. Msier, Mitielmeerwe]t jdi f. Angtncndt, Das geistliche Bünd- nis *54*
9 Stonner, National Education IOy. Meier, Mittclmeerwelt j4 q f. Heer, Kreuziügc ii, 6o
10 **Nicnxche** II i ixv, i i 5z, r i9n, I tI7 !!!} °-7.4 U. ß. Mack, HeI- vetius I izx.
tt Kober, Die Deposition7 or. Schnürcr, Church tend Culture I zg7. Sprandel, Über des Ptoblcot zr7 ff. Dcschner, Opus Diaholi z8 f.
za Hallcr 11.18.1
z 3 v. Bochn r6. Lohs¢ zgj II.
^4 Syn. em. c. j6, Greg. Tur. 6,.46. Kpbcr, Die Oeposition 6yy. Voigt, Hall *74 f. S<huber¢, History of the Christian church in the early minelaltcr I zj z, 1jj, z8jff., y4y, !! 47S Seidlnioyer 7th Caus, Volk 4fi - lmmer, GcschicktcderFran- **ken 183**
'? *ugs "ep gL'gciv.di4,4i s,i7; Iq,Y$, 19,l4i. Voigt, State 92 f. Freund if f. Haller, Epochs 4z ff. Engel/HoTtz 1 z,c1y ff.
zd Syn. Paris a. 8ap j,8. in addition Soui- =-- -d -®s ff. Boi1, The basic the modern society **148**
i7 5eppelt Il to ff.
i8 Levison, Die mittclslterliche Leh- re ty ff, Plöchl Il j i f.
up RöfU. ¥3, I If. In detail Dcsch- ner, Abermals 9$ ff. Cf. auck YOigt, Staat 8s
zo Kühner, Lexicon z r8. Eichmann, Achc and Bsnn j8 f. Group III z$. Tädtj8. Plächl tt jr. Herr, Kreuc- zGge xoj f. Gonrard xzt. Hcrr- mann, KiWhenfii-^>^ 3 ff.
zi Bcrnh. ctairv. ep. ijz. Cited in Knorzing-rjag . Lackr, The Constan'inic donation 6r.

Schnürcr, Kirche und Kulcur III 6i. Heer, Crusades i7 f. Mynarck, prohibition of thought

'. CAPITAL
Dic E1NFM£tRUNG DGS UB.1STENTTIStS
eai ase Gcnu'nen

i Staciewski 17** W- --- > "ß the Catholic Church and especially the German bishops in the early years of the Hitler regime.
ches: Deschner: Die Politik der Papstt l Liz ff., qjo ff., esp. 9 ff.

z Sronner, Cermanentum and Chtisten€utTi $$,$1. VerWeiSt it0 VOrword on -the guidelines of the Reichsinnenminixterium- and wants gcgcnwarrswach- die -anvcrtcaute]ugcnd zu ganzcn Deuc- cchtn und gcnzcn Chris'cnerzie- Len. Cf. ""ch 73

3 Euseb. h. e. io,y. Smom. h. e. i,6. Optar. Mil. cofstr. parm. Donat.
,zy f. **KAC** VllT G "llia I 8pg. *vot , D*-- Ni d<rgsng ^ ^ * 4 "S- Dopsch T\ tp6, zoi. Ewig,Trier-y. Hce "dl<r, Oie abcndlïndisckc
Kirche 124

4 RAC VIII Gallia I gz'. Stamer, iz fI., t.j. Behn tot í í . NewfOc**diger 31 ff., bes. 36 ff. Oediger,** Bisium Kól^ 7i- Alfiildi 9q f. Ewig, Oas Biscum Kiiln xoy. Betset, Studies ixq f. Haendler, The Evening Dictionary Kiechc itj

5 Stamcr i). Backhsltcnd: Haendler, Die sbcndlfindiiche KÍrthe lZ$ f. nlÍl vÍelefl WPÍterett Litcraturhinweiaen

6 **Gtcg. Tur. glor. conf. 7' R^*** VIII Gallia 1 s ff., pi ff. tDe- mougcor). HEG 8 z. Schneider,
The Frsnkenreith By. Bcis<l, Studien rzp. *Haendlet,* The abcnd-Iändisckc church zzy

7 RAC VIII Gallia I poy II. Execution lich: Beixel, Studies i 36 If. Yg]. ^°* ^47 ff.

8 **Isid.** Scv. H. G. 8§. **LhtA IV** rjtj. Al'anet/5rui '-z*- 4fa Dícsncr, Das Vandalcnreich n. If.

p Blankc y. Frank, Kirc}sengcchichtc ii. Misch Schulit. Yom Reich der firanken yy. Beisel, Srudien i3o. adbttg ta f.

o Richards xy. On the phenomenon of fear, cf. erwa Mynarck, Mysrik und Vernunft x6z ff., esp. ° The Hei)sangst - z ff.

t z Werzec/Zelte II ty6 ff. LThK II' Jr f. Ktah izz. ltolb, Hinm- lisches z86

12 Notker, Gtsta KarDli Z,iq. Stern/ Bartmusc 6o. Graus, People zj f.

i 3 2On the concept of -Germencri- cf. for example LIDIA IV i jy8 ff. HEG 9 et seq.
v. Sec, passim, at. 9 ff, ai f., ioz ff. Sombari, Hfindler und Helden, zqx , zii. after v. Sec ibid. 6q. Dóbler 8,qi ff., iz} ff,

^4 Schmidt, Germanischtr Glaubc ¡-. richards 9 f. Angenendt, Frùhmitrelaltcr r8 . 2On the hagio- graphical aspect cf. ctwa Gojcmisch 4 -- 7 . Furthermore Butzen, The Merovingian òsilich
dts mirileren Rheios r8. Padbcrg 7#- -**9

rj Kindltrs Liictsturlexikon III *y6oS I.* TwòlfÍcr i ff, with a **wealth of source bclcgsn. 5ron**ner, Gcrmanentum 6y ff. Dw Heli8ftd, 8uS d¥ltt (after scanner) wnrde+ was written between 8zx and Bio and probably has a clergyman as author, Dznnenbaucr, Crundlagtn ii

16 **Lex. Sal. Prol. 1**

+7 ÏÎï/I xj. Schulze, Yom Reich der rranktn z f. Ygl. also Deschner, Abecni8le hr

i8 protective weapon was the shield, the Hamisch apparently see, also the helmet: 2öllner, Gc-

layert dcr Franker i6o If, Vgłł, also i şa IN., iş7 If. On the Bcwaff- nung of the Frankcn also: Bach- rach, Prøcopius q3y ff.i ßodmer io9 vg1. ixo ff., u2 f., Behn 77-

105. Montgomery l 160 f.

t9 Bodmer i j; . McKiutrick, The Frankish Kingdoms 6i. Cf. also Prinz, Grundlagen 8ą f.

zo Gteg. Tur. z,j's Beds, h. c. z,9. Heinsius, mother of the church i . Haller 1 zy5. Schmidt, Germani- setter Glaubc şi If. Baetke 4 ff. Däblcr 9y. Böhner, grave digger
6 f. **Angenendt,** Early Middle Ages T z rightly points out that early Christianity was ccin
-knew the Sieghe1fcr motif.

x i Zöllner, The Political Position xy f. Oedigct, The Bísium Kofn
7* ^" -' tercn literature references. Ewig, Die Merowinger und das Frsnkenreich i 3q

zz Oros., Î4isc. advcr9. pag. y, Ş, It. Cf. augus. civ. dei y,zó. Tuscu- turn Lcxikon 6y. dtv-Lcxikon dcr Antiquity, Philosophic I ma f. Wit- pert, Lcxikon der Welililiteratur i,z8o **f. Maicr,** Mittclrøeerwelt
114

zy Ann. Melt. prior. a. 74y,77z, 776. Cf. also the numerous other sources in Zwölfcr i iJ ff., bed. Note x ş

z*{ Hieron. ep. **6o,I2.** OrDs. 2. 3q. Tödt z7 if. Mollat 3i. Dcschner, Die PdŒik de Pãpe I j6 č " bet z@ f. with the source and literary references

zy Schmidt, Germanic Faith 57 f. Ctam y. Tòdt xy ff.

zs RGAK tpy6 II tp f. LMA I
' j If. Rückcrt, The Chnstianż- sation 6, z6 If.

xy Bxc'k< ^943- my ff. Zø**- 7 ÎÏ. Frank, church history z f. **Aztgencndt,Taufcund Politik 7y$. He, FrukfHittelalt+ +7i**

z8 Schubert, Zuf Ccrmsnisicrung dos Christencums ypz f. Dets, Cnchichte dcr christlichen Kir- else l zyo. Baeikc xj f. Ewig, Die Merowinger und das Franken- **hich a j8. Reuter, GĊlniany 4-**

zq **LThK ÎV' 43a' R./LC Y11l Gallîa l pz j ff. LMA IV zjjp. Hänlein, The Bckel'rung l By. A. Heuck y. A.** *zęsz* **l za6. 5ckmidŁ, GcrTnani- schcr Glaube yz ff. S amen, Kir-** cliengcschichie xz ff. Schubert, Zur Gernianisierung des Chri- sieniums 3qs f. Ders., Geschichte der chrisrlichcn x.ircht 1 i yo. Grauc, Volk i yq If., I6z ff. Flek- kenstein, Crundlagcn t. Zöllner, Geuhiehte der Ftaøk9^ +77 Southern, i8. HKG II/1 Gurje- wîtschy f. ßemmann y3 f.

30 LTliK vtll' öo5. Stamer n¡. Egger Pro. Schieffer, Winfrid-Bonifatius +47 f.

31 Greg. Tut, Vitae padrum 6,x. RAC KĦ iq8 j, qoø, VoB cl 11 3 f, **Oedîgcr, Das Bis'um Köln 7o**

32 Grey. Tur. 8,iş f.

33 Greg. I. Dial. **z,8; z,**iq. **Wctzer/** Wtltc XI 6qi f. LThK X' 6io. dw- Lexikon der Amike, Philosophic I xjq. LMA I i 86y. Donin, II z$ i f. Zöckler 3 2. Häalein 63 f. Schulc- ze, II i8ą, iy7 . GreB orov us i i
xxx. Sparber, Church History Tirols 8,3 j f. The theological author uses the word -voln bcuercifcr- twice. Grsus, people i8 . On the imperiousness of Boncdict and sri- ncm insistence on sitiktec unicr- throwing his to death vBl' Felten, zoi If., i3ö If. S. such iq8 f.

34 Jonas von Suss (Bobbio), Vice Co- lumb. c. ø ł., to; i8 If., z3 If. Vita Galli t ff- Weizrr/ælre Il 69d ft. LThK lV' ^7 11' i f. Fİ6htinger z5o. LMA IH 65 ff. Crupp I j6o. Stooner, Heilige dtr deucschen

Frühzcit 1 i 5 ff., zy ff. Buchner, Germanenrum iaø f. Tüchle 1 Lcvison, Aus und frankischer FrÜłtzcit z 8 If. **Mayer.** Geschichte des Bîsrume Chur 1 68 f. 9/aItcrschcîd, Dcutsets Hciligs ąş If. Bütȼwr, Frúkmittclalrcrlickcs Chtistmtum zj. Dcrs., Gcschiehtc dcs E =ß z If. Blanke 3Ą ff., kg ff., öą ff. Helblinø ff. Hiìmm- *° 4 7 rank, Die Klosierbischnfe zy. W. ent- Icr, Det share dcr irȼn yj8 f. schaferdiek, Columban's work ^7 ff., bn. i9d If. Dznitl-Rops &rschin zş2 ff. Bosl, Europa inn Mirtelalter y8. Ewig, Die ldcrowinger i i r f., iz3 If. Steinbatli, Frankcnreich zy f. Schneider, R., Das Frøøkenreich 8ş. Prim, about Encwicklurig z3y f. Ders., AsŁesn Greg. Tur. and culture 8 f. Dcri., The role ff. of the mm zoj. food 6j *II.*

35 Wcnet/Wettc I rs . Keller, Reclams Lexicon 3i, i6y f. LMA I 5 +°-^^+^- ł ^ 7 ff. Danicl-ˈRops z96. Ewig, Die MerowingerSchulizc ijy f., i}o. Werner M., Der Lüttiehtr Rsum z3i ff. Pentsl z66 f. j6 file zur Zcit der 8lut-uad-Bodenñra johannm WarterscŁeid mir "hner ecclesiastical printing license the -Heiligc dtutsche Heimøi- mtehen lie4, konnte man beim Gang durchs Kircheniabr den hl. Martin nøtiitlich nicht gut sle den Ruinicrer read of that which f.

Schandtatcn dcs Hciligen plump concealing san: -Da was jg If. Martinusdcr Apostel dcs gcmcincn Yolkcs, dcr Baucrn und Hirtm,die euf dem }iøcI-en Landc wohaten.- R.uincn und Brandc aber finder sich allenfxlłs in dem kurt torhezgekenden karz vcrsteckt, cs -knm Auth die feurige Tongue of the apostle iibcr him-. All Martin xtarb, mcldet Gregor ß4ül-vnn Tours, heard inn far femcm Kăln dcr grcisc Bisckof Severin the song of the Enøcl, dit Martin's soul to heaven tru- spa. gen. {Oer Hîstorikcr Mønhias Zender xpricht hier von der einiigenhalfway hîstorical Nach- Des richt zus dam Lcben des hl. Scverin, of which one imrøerhin iyfi Kultstüiten knows.J i,jq. Sulp. Scv. Vit. htwi. it Dial. z,8. Cf. such Øiaî 1,d; Vira b. Msurilii x. LThK vl' 98d If. dtv-Lcxilon dcr fintike, Religion 118d. RAC Ylll i9yx Gslliã 1914 , I Ayr f. 11 zøj f. Zwölfer d8 I. Schnürer, Kirchc und Kultur i zeł. Waltcrscheid, Germans Hcilige rj ff. Ders., Heil'Bˆ d- -- tche Hciinat H n . Vil1er/R işq. Zender, The encryption zş2 f. Deichmann icy If. Lcvisøn, Aus rheinischer und frănkischer Friihzeit z8 f. Schneider, C., Ceistugcschiclue 11 3s. Ewig, The mørtitiskulr ix ff. Grans, People iy

the buildings of his time koch ver- Prînz, Klents nd Kricg jy. Dcrs, ehncn,Temple, Al'ärc, Cčîtterbil- Enrwiȼktung xxj ff. Bosl, Europe dcr. Ergo bcmcrkt køtholik 6. inn Mirłcleltcr 43- 79 !- B'øigel 86 dxńihcr only, daÂ cuf dȼm Land y7 Grey vi'. pacr. 6,a. Baudoniv.

"da9 Heidcncum noch herr- Vita Radeg. -,x. Vita Gaug. zj.

sckend- was, dat Tempel, Altüre, Süulm of the old gods -noch øl- - lenthzlbeii- støiidcn; -srlbsi fentliclie (Jmzüge mit Gôtienbildcrn were still held-. Gal- indirectly follows theUA I 9^4

Vita Eligii z,8. Vira Lupi Scnon. i i. Vita Landibcrti to Vira HøB äf-berti 3. Nira Amandi iy. To Zóllncr, Geschichte der Franken Un-iyd f. Femer RAC Volt toys,

j8 **RAC** VIII **zp7z,** 8p§, p¥6, Prinz, development xjyt86j
35 Beda, h. e. z,i. Kuhner, Lexikon ii. Hünlein I yz. Algermissen zz9. ßeixel, Studien i 3o. Graua, cf. finm. gr
40 Cnncil. Germanicum c88.
4* Grtg. Tur. Vits patrum ö,z; Baudonivia, Visa Radegundis z,z; Vito Lupi episc. Sen. c. ti; Vito Csugorici episc. Camerac c.yi episc.Ttaiecr. c. 3; NitaLaodibcrii epiic. Trsiect. c. Löwe, io, Vita Eligii **episc. Noviomag.** z,8. x. Stu. Orl. (ri}c. 3o. z. Syn. Ori. (jjj) c. zzi **zo,q.** Syn. Ori. ytt) Vj f. Syn. Elusa (EauzeZ z) c. y Syn. Tou - \5*7T ^- -x. Kel1eI, 8.Reclams Lexikon xop f. Schulrxc, rtj ff.Reinhold, Die deutschen Women I yE f. S1mil:z j'p. Hänza, lein Il q. Graue, Volk i s ff, 4 f.
42 RAC Ylll Ge * 9^7

x. XAPITEL

CncoDB'!G DzB. gßGRttNDER DES nR4nxtscusx 'Gnossaslcncs

r Ein]citung W. v. Ciescbrech' in: "gor von Tours, Fränkische Geschichce t p LMA
z Aland, Kicckcngcuhichr1ich< Encwiitfc jo
e Crisar, Rome By

6 Greg. Tur. **c'p. LhtA 11.1861** f.+ . HEC t zyj. HKG II z- +4 *' Schmidt, Aue den Anfängen ff. Ewig, Die Merowingec xI ff., und das Frsnkcnreich i3 ff., 38. Kleiber, Dos Frankenrcich 3ö
i7 Greg. Tur. z,q ff. rredep j,i i f. LMA 1 - *7 -. 63 f. HEG mlj f. Hauck 1.98 ff, hienzcl 18o. Vogt, Der Niedergang Kto. dan- ,Gnindlagen Joy f. Yire Hugbtrii Siem/Bartmuxs 6i. Strnheker, Dtr scnsiorian nobility her. Germany } , go. Zöllwec, Gcichichre of the Franks i67. Falco jy **II, hes. y5 u.** 67' Lssko **zc'a,** ßaz,z¥ z IL LBu¢ermann 866. Steinb4ch, Das Frant'enreich Bundxj6 ff. C--hn-Ho-k, Die ll frgnkixhe Oberschichc 'y ff. Ewig, The Merowingcr x6 f., 78. Schneider, Königswohl 66 ff. Bleiben, Das Frankenrcick fi., y8 f. Cf. "uch die folg. Note.
8 Greg. Tur. i,3 i. Avit. ep. jd. Bchn y9 f. ltotniger xi8. Zöllner, Geschichte der Franke- 44 ff. Oaniel-Rops ^J4 Alstid, Kirchenge- **Aichtlichc Entwürfe zp f. Blci- ber, Das Frankcnreich ja Cr p Gg Tur. -,-y. dr--Lcxikon dcr Antiquity, Gesc5ithtc III ajy. M rg6j. Hauck I p8 ff. Böhner, Tombs 6yy. Löwe, Germanland §o. S¢orn/Barcmuss 6a f. Sal-.,d "g "b.d "ian .Bd np.Yogt, Zö1Incr, Gorhichtc der Franken Der Niedergang yza A. v. Müller, §8. Steinbach, Das Frankenrcich Gc8chichfe unter unsren Fii8en z18. 8 f. Ewig, The Merovingians and** Lxsko zzt. Maier, Mittdmcerwelc tad. Darinenbaunr, Basics 1o3. Zöllner, Gmchichte der Franx¡ ff. 5teinbach, Das Frankeniqq8.reich y f., io. Döbler i ry ff.Bleiber, The Frankenrcichff . rsnken j Kleiber, ibid. jj f. On theterm von König und Königtum generell cf. for example Amon LMA v iz98 ff., **esp.** zjoo f. das F£ankenrcick to f. Pfis'er, Gaul. Narrative of E*enis iio Greg. z,x8 f. Fredeg. 3,if ff. Lib. ken hist. Franc. e. i i ff. LMA 11 Si.Zatschek y. Zöllncr, Geschichte der r- §1,j3 ff. Bleibcr, DasFrankenreichjo ff. Steinbach, Oas Frankenreich io f.

z z **Creg. Tur.** z,a8 ff. **Hsuck** I **drew.**

Rückc", Culturgcschi¢h'e I t lf. Schubert, Gcsch\chcc dcr christlichen Kirchc ł yj. 5trał-mann IV 6j L Schnüror, Kirchc und Kultur I jj. Darticl-Rops a38. yör ner zo lf. Bosl, Europp inn Mitt8laÏt0l *4

12 **Cass. DiO 78,i j. Agarh. ,6. &GAK I zzj. HEG I øxy f. LMA I** z6j ff. Tñchle I zo ff. Werner, Zu
the słamøønisrhto Burgcn q3q If. **Pc5cheÎ** Aşq If., esp. 3oñ lf. ButZen, Die fvierowinger östlich dev miit-leren Rłteins z'r. H. Keller, Spä'-antike uná fitúhmiuclalter 1 ff. O-=--d° 87*- Brisel, Studîen 8o f. Even dos HKC ills (-Christ gave victory to the Franks') recalls the sundtrbsr< revelation o f Christ to the Xaiscr- Con- stantin wr his victory at the Milvian Bridge (zoy)

t j €ircg. Tur. z,jo. RCAK ^973 I' tyo f. LMA 1 z6 . III 8jz f. HGG 1 øz8 f. TüchTc ! 34a Bürrner, Ce-schichtc dcs Elsafl jz f. Löwe, Germany z. Zöllncr, Cc- schìchte der Ftan)ten 6. Werwer, Zu den slsnłsnnischcn Burgen
45 3- -tzcn, Die Mcrowinger ast-lich dcs mittlercn Rh8Ín5 *7-Ewig, Die Metowinger cj f" jy f. Pöfzner zz f. Bleiber, The Fran-
kcnrcîch ss !- Some s c h o l a r s attribute the Alemannic War to Jo6 and also Ch1o6w'ig's baptism in the same year or şøy/şo8. Representative of both views is Zöllner, Geschichte dcr Franken
57 f.

14 Greg. Tur. c,ya. Fredeg. j,z' er-raises the jooo to 6ooo. RCAK IV
^9**- 47® !!-- tip. Die Umstreit- tenhcit dcr Daticrung in der ålte- rcn Forschung b¢i Lexicon, Aus rhcinischcr und frankischcr F'ühzcit zoz fi. S. axch bland, Kir-chengeschichtliche Entwúrfc xy f.

Haendlcr, C-history of the early ¢"ittctakcrs ts vermctcs C iłaó- **wigs Taufe ąp8. Ebcnso Maier, Mictelmcgrwe]¢ zi4 .J** Der Niedergnng px u. v. a. F. Oppeøheimcr, Frankish Themes i7 ff. accept the baptism inn jabt jo8. Ebenxo R. kiss: Chlodwigi Taufc: Reims yo8; goes back to the ergcbnisst of the Stci- nens. - Cf. f¢rner Kawc- rau, Gcschichtc dcr sI'tn Kirche j8. Hauck I lap ff. Hartmann,
Gcschîchte italians I z ş ş. BctŁncr, Gtabmäler 6j 5. Zöllner, Cìe- schîchte der - ranken 6o ff., 7' Prim, Die bischöflîche Sr "dthtrr- sehah i j. Cartellieri 1 6 f. F1ek- **kcnstein, Fundamentals and beginning z. Stamer zz. Schulze,Vom ftcich**
derörankenzy.BleiMr,D**fran-kenreich {j f. Fleckenstein, has ørofifränkisehe ReÌC ^7^

15 Grtg. Tur. z,j i. Wetzer/Welte, lX zoo. LThK VII ' 477 *+7 f. Bird \J j 8 ff. Sch "ltM, il 1 . **A^B^' nendt, FrÜhmittclajCcr yho f.**

z6 Greg. Tur. z,yz. Dan'e, ţnŁcrno z i,y. /ètzcr/W-ltc îX zoą. LThX Vill' 817 f. Vogel lÎ jąp. SeppeÎt 1 z o ff. Spcyer 3oz, 3o9

17 Avi¢. cp. ą6. Geezer/\Uslte ş 6 6 , îX øaą. LThK I' yhy, 8yą VIII' 81d f. VII' j f. LMA I I fi 7 *-(Zotz) t '86ş. Görfes yj Łf. Fi-scher, The migration of peoples zaz. Bôhncr, Gccbmålcr 6y ş. Strohe- kcr, The smatory adcl 'Şg. Zöllner, History of the Franks **y8 £., 6j. Cf. z7p' Pfister, Gaul. Narracîve of Evenrs z zz. SŁaubach**
^7 . 4) Ångcnendi, Kaiserherr-schaft und Kònigitaufe i ff. Ders., Frühmiitelalcer i7 i f.

18 Hartmann, Gesrhîchte Italians 1
• *ss*- KosminskifSkaskin yx. Wine 88- Flcckenstoin, The HoÑ¢apelle fi. Pfisrer, Gaul. Narrative of

Events i i i f. Altamira i q f. Poo- tsl 9 ff.

zp Nicct. MG Ep. \ł iøz. LhfA II z86y. Algctmisscn x86

20 **Hauck 1952 ł' 104, 111. Stamer** xo f. Hitler, Erltstthung jo3 f. @trn/Bnrtmuss 6x. 5teinbach, Dss Frønkenrcich zn f. Ballesteros **47 OSI, Europa inn Mi tr1al'cr 66, Brown zd z. Angcnmdt, Früh-** rttittelelter i7o. The short out leadin g Alønds, Obcr the change of faith q8 If. that for **the transfer of** Chtodwi$s the poliical **A4octv ł** "ugrirn, **überxcugrn not. After Aland would have Chlod-**

wtg from political crùndcn

A Honer møróen **müsscti. Abtr]connte cr as a Catholic not vi<1** fight **overly arianc sraats**? Aland incriminates that air -uœer measures apply to early epochs. But how does he apply his reJfgiöieii measures to them? The reference

for 9ac B<heup'ung, Chlodwîg Rei, like Konstantin nnd Fricdricìt the 97cisc, **-from the n "uen Gløuhtn inneçally úbcrwunden wordcn-,** iritt Alend not an, œndern will licbcr -here "bbreak ... . - Cf. also Aland, Kirchcngcscbicht-liehc Entwîirfc 3o f.

xr Taddey ißn. Schmidt, Die Ostr-°F-maneti xzq. Behn 6i. K. D. S1midt, Die Bekehrung der Ost-**germancn aą IF. Schwarz, Goths y8 z ff. Bohnsack roş**

Oro--7-3*,j· Ckron. Call. ad a. xs ąj6; §ąy. On the Burgundians gencrell: Wen9kus, Die Burgund "r HGG z xjo čf. K. F. b "rner, Bur- gund, in LMA II iodx ff. J. Ri- chsrd, Burgundy, LMA 11 ioqx f. Bühlcr Sq. Löwe, Germany o. a7 Bchn 6i, 6q. Sirobeker, Germa- ^^^+^ ^4< ff., ^å7 - Schrriidt, Die Ostgermanen i yr. 5chmidi,

The bridge between Osrgomtanen 4oą If. Dønnenbauer 1 zo8, joä. Dopsch r96i I- ziy f. Gonrad 1 8y. Bleiber, Des Frankenrcich ąi

z3 Creg. cur. z,z8. LThK II' 6ąø. LMA I 1092 ff., 1824 f. IV 1530 f., +79*· Schmidc, The Osrgemans iøq. P*t*r i;ø. Coned i sj. Beck, **Bemerkurlgcn ąą6. Bleibgr, Øps Fmnkcnrcîch**

24 Socrat. E. c. y,} - O¢os. sdvors. P^g^^- 7-3ø.Greg. Tur. x,z8. &ct-zerWelte It zr6 f. LMA IV i ş o f., °79' f. Giesecke th. *Vogt, Der Niedergang 429.* **Dannenbsuer I ja8. Schmidt, Die Bckchrung dir Osrgtrm^^ 4^ ff.** Srhmidr, Die Osigermanen iy2. Zòllner, The political St. i ro

zy **Avit. ep. y. Marius Agent. a. yœ. Greg. Tur. z,zj; z,z8; c,jż f. Wetzcr/97clte, LIT 6oj. LTkK \x' Ţ49 LMA îl zopŞ, 186y f. IY ¥şjo Ł. HEC I -j3 f. Rûckcrt, Culturgcschi¢hcc I j78 If. Schubert, Cc-** srhichce der chtistlichen Kirche 1 ÿ3. Harcmann, Gcschíchtc Italians I işş f. Gieiecke nti, ifiz. Schmidt, Die Bekehrung dcr Ostgermanen øo8 f., 3r3 f. Fischer, Die Völkerwsnderung zxz. Büitner, Dee Alpenreum fi3. Enaslin, Thcøderich @z f Zöllner, Die polit. 5tell. 85. **Bosl, Eurøps inn** Mittelalter 66. Mendel I i o. Ewig, Die Merowinger und dos Frankcnrcich *4- ØCC . ØCmßF-køogen +17 4şł. Collar r6

Greg. Tur. a,3 t. er/Wclte six f. Krafc ioi. Meniel I r5o.

K. D. Schmidt. The bckehrung of the Ostgrrmencn species If. Gieseckc, ip f., i ş9 f. Fischer, Die Vòlker-

ft °u^b ^ ^7

Olyinp. fr. z£ {FHG IV 63). Pras-**per Tito ad a. ą y. Oro^-7-43' Klcine Pau\y, 'V zzzx f. drv-Lcxikon 1 zjj. Srein, Varn rÔmischen**

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4as. CartcTlicri I ej f(. Schmidt, Westgermancn zo7 f. Oannenbau-
cx zo4, aop, joó. Capclle zjo 0f.
Ensslin, Einbr "ch op f. Culican, i qi. Lówc, Dcutschland iq f. Claude, C-schichie der Wesigoten aa. Dcrs, nobility, church yo f.

z8 Apoll. Sidon. cp. 1,a; y,zz.)ord. Gcr' 44. K)cinc Pauly !V lujo V 4- Ciesccke qi ff. Schmidt, Die Westgermanen 1 zo8 ff. Liiwe, Octnschland co. Scrohcker, Eurich y ff. Claude, Guchichte der We-+B°* i+ É., } I f. Ders, Nobility, Church i7. Confederation yyr ff. Bleiber, TheFoknci'h4'

zq K. O. Schmidt, Die ßekchrung der Osigermanen joo

jo Ennod. Vita Epiph. 7. apoll. 5i-don. tp. 6,ix; 7,6. wtrzer/Mclte 1 3j5 f. Kleine Pauls II jq, V iy6. LMA IV rol f. **Capc)te** joy £. Claude, Ceschich'c der wes'goten q8 f. Hzendler, Die abcndtdndische Kirchr roy

3ı Apollo. Sidon. -P 7.6 f. Jord. Gtt. 47-Ciesccke p6. Sttoheker, Ger- **m "nenrum r6y. Vogt, Der licderg^^B 473- Schnürcr, Dic Anfangc p8. Danncnbaucr, Die Grundlegung I jo6 f.** Ens9lin, **Oer** Einbruch try f. Oaniel-Ropi *z3* . **Maier, Mittelmeerwelt 208 ff. Lenggürtner 'og. Princ, Die bisch6flickc Stad tcrrschaft p. Claude, Ceschickce der We5tgoten yz f.**

3z Greg. Tur. x,jy. RGAK I ixq. dtv-Lexikon der Antike, Geschichte i,z . Ensslin, Burglary ixv. Maier, Mediterranean World zoq. Claude, Gcschichtc der Westgoicn jgLBürmenDieAlpenpoliGk6j

33 Greg. Tur. z,y6. Hartmann, Geschichte Italiens I ay8 f. Bodmcr j8. Iȼ. D. Schmidt, Dic Bckehrung **der Ostgermonen yo8. Stroheker,** Gcrmancntum i67 f. Giesccke p8. Danncnbaucr I y z . Thompson, The tpnvcrsion $ If. Langgürtner io8 f. MarschálÍ 94 -

34 **Greg.** Ur.a,t6, x,36.Vitapalr.q,l. Weizcc/Weltc11 zq6 ff. Small Panly 11 xJ6 f. HEG 1 aye. Gieserle, Die Oitgcrmsnen q8 ff. Schmidt, Die Ostgerma--^ 347-K.D. Schmidt, Die Belehrung der Osr-
gcmsnen joß. Ensslin, Theoderich tpj. Altamira i 5q f. Thompson, The convenion j f. Bleibtr, The Fr8nkcn Empire $. Zolinery Gc-
cchich'e of the F--nkgfl ^^7

35 Conc, Agach. Prsev. 9/e'xer/we]re
II z47 . Gficsccke zoo. StroheLer, Gcrmantntum +'7 f. 5trinbach, Das Frankcnrcich z-. Claude, Gcschichic der Wcsigoien 5. Haendltr, Die abendl3ndische Kirchc -s

3fi C Tur. z,yy. HKG I!/z, roy:
-The proclamation of Clovis sounds like Pie Fanfarensto0. Hart- mznn, Gefichichre ltaliens1 rJq ff. Carteljicri t ja. Sccinbach. The F¥ankenreich r z. Dsnnenhauec, Grundlegung 1 j 11. Zöllner, Geschichfe der Ftanken ^s- Ewig, Zum christlichen Künigsgedankcn,y. D' " **DicMwowgw** ay. l_asko to. Claude, History
te of the Visigoths 3y. Pfister, Gall. Narrativc **of Evcnts** 113 f. Bleiben, Das Frankenrcich J6 ff.

37 Greg. Tur. z,jy. LMA lI xiy . HEC I ay8. to Ewig >gl. note, y6 and 4

38 Algerrnissen i8y
j q
Greg. Tur. 2,37

40 Procopt bell- Goth. i,iz,33 ff. Chcon. Gall. a. jz i. Greg. Tur. -.37- Frcdeg. j,x . RGAK 1 is9. HEG l z 8. backcrt, cultural ge-**schichte I 324 ff. Hauck I 170 f.** Dannenbauer, Grundlegung I 3i r. Altamira ido. Ziillner, Ceschichic der Frsnkcn 65. Claude,

History of the Wes'go'en j $. Ennslin, Theoderich zqz f. Ewig, Die Mcrowinger und das Fran- l'enrcich ay f. Bleiber, Dss Fran- kcnzeich y6 f. Ponta) io

41 Gr-g. Tue. *-37- F'-d "g. 3,1§- HEG I zy8. ßeieel, Sttjdign zu den fränkisch-röminhen Beziehungen pr f. Cf. also the following. Aarn.

4* Prekop. bell. Goth. i, i z.)ord. Ger. 8. lsid. hisi. Gor. 6 ff. Cas- **siod. Variae q,ty. Chron. Cg¢sxr august. (MG Auct. ant. XI zzz f.) Creg. Tur. z-37. 7. cone. Orl. (yiz) c. y.7, o. Hauck I zoo. Bodmer Ian. HAnmann, Geschichtc Italians I jp If. Caspar II d.** Schmidt, Die Ostgemanen i 5}. Ennslin, Thcoderich i j8 ff. i5 i. Ders., Einbruch ^ 7 - Steiabach, Das Frankenreich i i f. Ncuss/Oc- dgr, DaBnumKonnoDan- nonbaucr II z.z F. Esvig, Zum christlichen Konigsgcdanken ¥p. Zöllner, Geschichte det Frsnk-n as. 878. Claude, Geschichte der **Wcsrgo'en jd, y4f. Thompson,** The GOth*7 - Bund ¡j3 $. ÜAlCO §3 ff., esp. y8 unü ^7 !-'b¢r, Des Frankenreicii }S f. Ewig, Die Me- **rowingcr und das Frankenreick zy ff. Portal , Hz**

45 **Greg.Yur. z,4o. Bodmcr zo6 f. Fi-** srher, The migration of the people zj}. Pfister, Gem. Narrative of Events I fi6. Aeoton, Fürstenspiegel qq. Schneider, **Rö-'e-** -* 7°f· Grahn-Hoek, Oie fränkische Obcrschicht r§j ff. Steinbach, Das Frankenreich xc. Züllner, Geschichte der Fmnltert p. ßorst zz9 ff. Ewig, Die MerowinJt 30. Bleiben, Das Frankenrctch j8 f.

44 Greg. Tur. i,4 i f. On the criticism of i:Greg *c:* 2ällner, Geschichte der FsnknyofKLMAV*yp.Men **zc1 I zyz. Hauck 1 1st- Schneider, Königswahi 7^ Sprigade. Ab-**

schneideft +4i *ers., The instruction ry f. Gray, t)bet the Germanic loyalty roy f(. Bosl, Europe in the Middle Ages 6 f. Ewig, The Formation of the Frankish Empire z3q f. Blciber, The Frankish Empire jg. ßorst zjz f. Confederation -4+ ff., z ff. Pfisitr, Gaul. Narrative of Eventx i ry. Falcn 68

45 Greg, Tur. z,qz. Bodmer io6 f. Fi- scher, Die Yölkcrwandtrung ZU.

For Daniel-Rops, Clovis' abmurkstw is a courageous relative

.only a yarn people inventedcs Mirchen-, whereby the cath- **lik** refers **to unnamed vetlaüliche** historians-: 387

46 Frcdeg. 3,z¥. Syn. Ori, (ya i) Praef. U. C. 4- Rückcrt, Culturgeschichte I jag ff. Schubert, Geschichte der c}trisElichcn Kirthc I py. Steinbuch, Das Frankenrcich zj. Bosl, ßuropa im MicielalE•* -4- -- "–'

^7 ff. Zöllner, history of the rr "nkcn gg, t8z ff. Prinz, Die Ent- wicklung **zz6,** note q. **Ewig,** Der Martinskul' ^7 *- WOlf rchmf

although, like ublicti, Clovis

-Staatsraison-, its -historical Greatness-, but speaks of the -r- not doubtful degree of personal religiosity- -

-no trace of Christian morality!-: **Clovis** z7, zq, 3i f., 35. Angenendt, **Frührfiirttlzlter rqi**

47 Aland, Church History Encwfirk yi

g8 Gg Tur. z, o. Zähnen, Geschichte der Franken yj. Wolf, Clovis yy. Det Hisrorikcr E £twig writes in the HEG z q f. u. a.: -In his last years of rule (5o8- i i), Chlod- wig completed the territorial rounding off of his empire ... has het- executed the Franks out of clcinraumc behavior ... a germoniscfi- ***romonic synthesis of a new* kind**

angelegt. Die ungestüme Expan- The French's power of expression is given new impetus by the adoption of the Catholic faith.

se . . .»

j. KAł'lTEL
D z CiiLODWłG-THNS

I Anion, Fünœnop g-4P
i Zach, Chrisilich-Germanic Kulturidezl 8j
3 **Buchner, Germanentum 147.** ßchułizc, Vom Rtich der Franken y6 f. Cf. also the following. Note.
4 Greg. Tur ş,i. Freds 3,nq. LMA if i8rş f., i86q f. The imperial parts of the Cblodwig sons were only used in their limited extent, i.e. by no means in full. **indicate. Holrzmann, Sachscn und Anltalt p8. Za'scheL tz. Steînbech, Frank<nrcich t , - f.** Bulloogb, Karl dcr GreEc' z6. Tailor, KÕ£Iigsw^ 73 !- **Lówe,** Germany ąp. ZÒliner, Gcscbichtc of the FïR^ <° 7* ff. But-
^^^ *7- 5chultzc, The Frankon- **nich d¢F Mcr¢wingc' 7- f. Ewig,** giie Mtrawingcr 3i f. Bleiber, The FrankenreiCÖ 77 !!!
5 Ewig, Die Merowingcr und dss Fraakonrcich jz f. Blcibcr, Das FrsnLenreich GB f.
6 Greg. Tur. j,p f., y,zż f., y,z6, j,zy. Vica parrum ,y; za,z. Frø- deg. j,y6 f., j,jp. ZöÎlner+ Ge- **schichte der Franken 79 f. Von** andcron, the uprising of the Auvcrgnaten is set a j-hoehni späier. Grahn-Hook, The Frankish **sche Oberschicht 167 ff. Tolks- dorf 53 f.**
7 Amit. Vienne ep. 8 (MG Aucr. Ant. VI, z, p. 4o). Caspar îl ¥z6. Giosek- *k< Neo fl.* **Schmidt, The Honor of the East Gcrmanon . .Fi "chc',**

KöniB Sigeirriand i ff. Dms, Geschichrc der Fwn**^ 79 f. Graus, Volk 39d ff. Ders., Oie Enrwick-

Völkkcrwøndcrung icy f. Daniel Raps zj j f. Ewig, The Merovingians 33 f. 79–86

8 Marius, Avenc. chron. a. §m. Creg. Tur. 3-y Frede& l,j3-Wet- zer/Wtlie III 6o3. LThK IX' 5 q. weller, Reclams Lcxîkon j47 f- Mendel l i5ş, Giesccke uz f.
Schmidt, The reversal of the East gcrmsneo qi . BodmGr jz. Zoll- ner, King Sigismund i ff. Grans, Yük jy4f D*ielRops qp

Collar t6 f.

9 Avit. Viennc cp. 8; gp. Gotzer/Welic th ßoş. LTbK IU' qi ş. LMA I iq8o, i3oy; NI z<uti f. Caspar 11
^7- Gicscckc 6z. Blankc z . Loening ! S-7 - + - ! **4

zo Ayn. Epaon can. c. WCczer/AItc III ë'-oj (. LTł+It IÎl' py y. ł-fGE îl/a so. Hauck, quoted in Giesecke i66 f. Schmidt, Die Bckchrung dcr

Osrgerma--- <-4- Fischer, Dic Volkerwandcrung x--t. Beck, bcmerkungen 449

11 Greg. Tur. z,zg; 3,6. frodeg, ,33. Wctzcr/V/rlrc 11 ø9i. LMA 11 i86z Ebling), HEG I aj4. Vøl. auCh the fol&. Arim.

ix Greg. Tur. 3,y f. Libtr ia gleria =---"^-. ° 74 {here Gregory grants sainthood to the murderer Sigis Mund with mild restrictions). Marius of Avenches ad e, jz . The historical facts reverse the Frankish Passio Sancti Sigismundi regis {SS rer. Mcrov. If jt3), which utiterizes Sigismund's murder of Burgundy. LThK Ix- yą8 f. Kellet. Rec-
!^ ^ '*^^ 457 !. Schmidc, Die Bckchrung dcr Osrgermanen 4+7 f. Ensвliw, Einbruch ix8.
Lowe, Germany qq f. Zöllner,

lation of the legend i82 ff. Ewig, Die Merowiriger 33 f. Bleiben, The Frankish Empire 8o. Confederation i6 f.

13 Greg. Tur. j,6. Fredeg. 3,3d f. Cf. also the following finm.

14 Venant. Fortunni. Cerm. z,io. **Greg. Tur. j,t8; 2for the early formation of the le- gtnden and the auc- ture of their Yita b "min at G'cgor cf. 2öllncr, Geschichte d<rFr "n- ken $$ f. p. a^ct* 74' firedcg.**
3,3§ f. LMA 11 i8i f., i86s, i86q, i9q8 lV °79 . Ewig, HEG I z6i loses iiber the decisive participation of the h1. Chlotilde no word. Donin III 3qq ff. Menzel, I iq8, typ. Rückert, Culrorge- schichie l 4+7- Hauck 'i95z l i i6, z8. Dill zjy. rinkc zoo f. Schmidt, Die Belehrung der Ost-
&<rm-^*^ 487 f. Löwe, Deutschland qq f. Sprigade, Ahschnniden ixx ff. Oers, Die Einweisung i6 ff, y. Sieinbach, The Fran- **kenteich j§ f. Spark9'a Hz. Zöllner, Geschichte der Eronken 8o ff. tnigler zoj f. Ewig, Zum cljrist)ichen Königsgedanken Ey. Dcrs, Die Merowingcr 3y f.** Grahn-Hotk, Die frinkisch- Oberschichc IJq ff. Bleiben, The Fcankciireich 8o. Pental i8

15 **Greg. Zur.** 3,**i8. Fredcg.** 3.38. Cf. also the existing annotation.

16 @'etzcr/"/sltc II 4pa. v. Sales Dort, Heilige l Klo. Ewig, The Merowingcr j

17 Greg. Tu-' 3t4' 3t7 f. Frcdeg. y,3z. HEG 1 z6a. Menzcl 1 typ. Hauek I 348. Heinsius I6 ff. Schmidt, Die **späc Völkerwanderuagszeit t 'j. Sct1mid', Oie Wesrgtrmanen 46. Buchner, Cermanenturn rjy.**
Behn 7z f. **Löwe,** Deutichlnnd yo. Dannenbuuer II z8. Petzefschl> singer I jzc ff. Zöllner, Geschieh- t der Franken 8z f., 8S. Lauter- mann 9o .

kenreich u f. Ewig, Die franksche" Teilurigcn 668 f. Grehn-Hock, Die f--nkischc Obcrschichi +7 ff. Burzen -7 ff. Blei- ber, Das Frankenreich jy, yy, 81, 8j (. Haendlcr, Die abendÏändi- sche Kirche 3q

18 **Greg,** Tur. j-7 f. Venant. Foztunat. Csrm. p,tg (wcircre Quellenhin- wciie hei Scheibdreiicr, Königs- cörhttr x-t ff. Wcizcr?Welte IV i ry f. LMA 11 i8ö9 f. Meniel I 54 - Wei "hold II t j. Hcinsius *7 Hermznn,Thuringischc Kireheagcsehichtc 1 io ff. Oill z jy, z8z. ffchmidi, Die Späte Völ kerwandcrungrzcit zyy f. Neuss/ Otdiger i u. Pomsnn x9 If. Pärcner yo. Zéllner, Gcschichte der Ftsnken 8j, fay f. Schneider, Königswahl y6. Ewig, Stxidim zur merowingiechen Dynastie 38 ff, bcc, . Blciber, Das Frnnkenreich 8 . Butim a9 iq *°<B- Tur. t, j6i 3,t. Zöllner, Geschichte der Franken 8j f. *○ Prokop, bell. Goih. i,ij. Chroo. Caesar-august- a. 3i; cf. a. ¢i - Greg. Tur. y,1o; 3,zi; 3,nq. gloria conf. 8i. Fredeg. j,3o: vgi. ii. LMA 1 Pos- HECi 1 z6x. Pircnne, Geburr **7- Claude, History of the Visigoths 6-t. Sieinbach, Due Frankcnrcick *4' Ïlncr, Geschichre der Franken 83 ff. Ewig Die fränkischcn T¢ilungm 66p, 674 f. D¢cs, The Merovingians jy. Pontal z8 *i Prokop. bell. Cot. ¥,'y. Creg. Tur. y,¥ a; y,xj. LMA I) ¥06z f. IV 17pz. Giaseckc z6y. Blanke zy. Steinbach, Des Ftxnk-nrcich t4- Bütcner, Die Alpenpolitik 6 . Löwe, Dtutscliland ike. DrackfSchib ryq ff. Bleiber, The Frankish Empire

86 **Ewig, Die** fëilkakcn TciÏungende Ders.,Dief\4erowingsryd cc Gteg.Tur. y,z li ya8. Publican, Ge-

schitlsrc of the Franks 8d f. Ewig, ap Greg. Tur. g,¥p II. Mar. v. Oie Merovingians j6 f. Avench. Chfon. cd a. j6o. Beizer/

23 **Procop. bcll. Car. z,y; x,zj. Aga-** **'\X/c1cc Vll7 f. Keller, Kcclams Lc-**

ihias i,6 ff. Buchner, iz9 f. Germanee-xikon jy6. Sehultie 11

°37- Büttiier, Die Alpenpoli- Miihlbscher i 3q. - °° 3^- rik 6 f. Eggcr got f. Hmberger, Goerit, Minelrheinischc Rege- R$tiew i j6 ff. Zöllner, History sten 1 q. Zöllner, Geschichte der

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24 **LMA ! ^*4* /Öll¥ler, History Lcar/Treason z f. Tolksdorf of the Franks 8p ff. Ewig, The Mc- y6 f. Confederation zj6**

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xy Mar. v. Avenches, Chron. ad a. y8 Procop. bell. Goc. r,zx; z.z i.; z,z8. Case. Var. iz,7. Cas- Note par II x32. Büriner, Die Alpenpoli- tik 6y. Löhlein zq If. Zöllner, Cc- 3z Greg Tur. ,3; , i9; q,j9 ff. schichie der Franken 8q If. Blei- Schultze 11 izj. Bodmer 3i. Zöll- ber, Das Frsnkenrcich 8y. Ewig, nec, Geschiehte der Franken i88. DU Merowinge- 37 **Anton,** Fürstcnspiegel Jz. Ewig,

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a Ballesteros $6

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the homoeiscitc boknowledge can k<inc &cdc scin.- DÎc abcndländi- church zoş. V$]. also 1pg

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jo Joh. Bicl. ad z. y8o; y9o. Ixid. here. **goc, o. Vitae patrum Emcri'. y,tt. Syn. Tolcdo (j8p) c. j; p. Syn. Sarah (jpt) c. 1. Gregory I. diai. j,yz. Fredcg. y,8. Schubert, Ge- schichte der christlichen Kirche I yj. Ders., Zur Germanisicrung des Chris'entums jpg. Voig', Staa'** i 8. Schmidt, Die Bekehrong der **Os'germancn jo8 If. Ciccccke 1.1 t, i t6. StroheLer,** Germsnen- **ttJITt*77 !– 1$. Thompson, The Caths zoz If. Thompson, The conver- 5iOR ¥ tg. J\ltami8"87*- Claude,** Adrl, Kirthey f .

7- CHAPTER

Pzrsr GnEcoz I. lf9o-ëo4)

1 Seppclt II jyPaul Straćmann IV 8jVit

3 **Kraft 244**

4 Richards

5 Haller i ^^7'

6 Sep- Joh. Diac. Vito. Greg. ¢,8

7 Dsnacnbaue-.75 f

8 Greg. Tur. ro,i. Gregory I. Moral. prcf. **jet. Dizc.** vit. greg. 4,8d. Haller I ai7. de Rosa, j9?. S. also t4 All documents hiertu ond wcitcrc hei following.Anrn.

9 Gregory 1. Dial. g, d; in Ev. j8,1y. **(PL 76, zzpA) RAC XII pjo f. j Grćgor t. <p. z,y8** Kührter, Lezikon jz. Kelly 8o. r6 R ichards izq LMA IV i66 f. Grcgorovius, I i i7 Gregory 1. cp. i ,j8 ff.; i,xq; 3,j, Ayx. HArtGaftft. GesChiChfie §,q¡ $,$§, 2,3x; 1o,q; l},32; 14,lfíliens 11 qx ff. Funk, Allgcmeine et al. Introduction i f. Maier, Mittel- i 8 Gregor 1. Rp pzgtot. j,q, moral. mterwelt jj8Gontard i} i. Da- ,3ff. Cregornvius 1 I x8 . Cas- niel-Rops z8x. Fincs o8. par II top, 68 f. Haller t zzz. Srhramm, Kaiser, Könige 1.86 f. 5eppcltfSchwsigtr 6x. Yoigt, 5taat Mischt zza. Richards j§ f. Ange- By. Daniel-Rut's z8z. Ullmann, nendr, Early Middle Ages xj8 f. DiC MacfttstellunBs^ ff. Buchner,

yo Gregory I. cp. j,xpi zz,jyiHom. inGcrmancntum zyE. Richards Ev. z,z. Ygl. au** ^P- 3#^i t' 44t*57 *! Altcndorf BB

¥ tijd u, a. Ćiregoroyius, 1.1 z g Of. tp Gregor ï. ep. a,y. Dial, praef.

i i Greg. Tur. io,i. Paul. Diac. Hist. zo Vgi. Richards, bee. Ch. 9 ii. ie- S- Lang. 3,zć. RAC XII 9j$ f. **Grego-e also** Haller I zei

rovius 1 i x ff. Hartmann, Ge- ichichte Itatitns Ir 97 Gieieckc roy. Sepprlr II r y f. Richards zz, 90

ix Gregot 1. ep. r,4; j,fz; 5, 3 a. Pracf. dial. 3,3d. Greg. Tur. io,i.]oh. Diac. Yit. Greg. r,jq f. Paul. Drac. Vit. gteg. io. RAC Yll qjz ff. LMA I y8 f. IV 1663 Kel- ler, Reclame Lexikon xyp. Kcily **79 f. Gregorovius I 1 248 ff.,** z53 ff., z85. Hartmann, Geschie- te ltaliens 11 9§ ff., i8o ff. Caspat **II 343. Haller I 217 f. Seppelt II** y If. 8epptlt/5chwaigcr 8 f. Gon- tsrd i u If. Aliendorf i86. Misch in ff. Sthramm, Kaiser, Könige i 8a f. Richards 47 Ï . Fincs ro8 f. ij Gregory 1. reg. j,j2 ff.; ,y f.; y, , y,jo f.; 8,ap u. a. Mar. j,§j,6o.

. Diac.Vit. Greg. p.joh. Diac. . greg. z8 ff. LThK III' zz8. **RAC XII 937. Kelly 79. Hartmann,** z3Gcsthichte Italiens II ido ff., *^3I8o ff. Caspar 11 xi f., x6¢.

pelt 11 ie, st ff. Stppeit/SchwäfB .Goniard r¡ , r6z. Maier, Mit- ttlrnccrwelt 3y8 ff. Richards 56. Cf. also the fnlg. Note. Richards c- ff.Cf. au1 Kelly 8z. Haller I zz4 If.

zy **Har'rnann, Geschichte ItaÏiens** II 87s ff. There and hei Richards 8$, ht, zo8 If. elÏe source references.

Caspar II 431 ff.

xx Gregory I Reg. Past. I,Io

*1 Seppelr II 3 j Gregor 1. ep. z,i

sy Richards qi ff. Don the wciicren source documents

26 Hallcr t xj. Richards z6j

7 Richardfi IZ '- +47 - - 9 - with all source references. S. **aucÏt Gontard tyy f.**

28 Gregory ï. ¢p. 3,u; 1,§. Cx6§8r II fi+4- ichards Pro f.

zq **GVB ^!- ^P 3.4s-Kobcr. The corporal punishment 4*, group I zp8. Grcgor's chastity mania and celibacy rigorisrxus would be a cigcnes chapter wen. His skins (in jcder respect of the '\X/or- Ecs) are unB--ahltV·gl. daxu for example also Ranke-Heinemann, Eunu-**

rrO $. 12a *44' *47: -Lust can never be without Siinde- a. o.

jo Bcds h. e. i,iy. LMA IV i66j f. Hal]er l x6y f., tz3. Voigt, State zde, z96. Scppelt 11 x . Maiet, Mii-telmeerwelc j8 f. Goncsrd i ö. Misch 6p. Herrmann, Heretics in **Dcuockland 66 Itickards, p. Pad-berg zz f. Mlmann, the GrcgDr scftÄcxr, emphasizes as the purpose of Grcgor's missionary enterprise, -the prificial prifice of his Ycrwirk-**

Drawing neheaubringen -: A brief history of the papacy ji

31 Herrmann, Heretics in Germany **66**

yx Gregory 1. cp. 8,d; i,6o; zy ; r j,y5: LThK VII' f. Cf. also Speigl, Aquileje zw'ischen Ost und West $7 ff.

33 Gregory I. ep. ,nt; ä,j6, 8'loral. j,¢3. Reg. p *+- *4- Peul. Dige. Hist. lang. ,i9. Padberg xy f.

34 Auüer Dcschner Kriminalgc-sckichte 1 j. Kop. Cf. to this and bee. to Gtlaeius 1. ibid. II 3x ff., **bn. j x ff.**

35 Gregory I. ep. j,j. Moral. 8,i f.i 16,6. HKQ II x+ ys8. Ï4arcmann, Geschichre]ra1iens II r6j. Caspar, II blz f£. Dicsner, Dcr Unc<rgang 76 £.

36 Gregory 1 Disl. 3.3n. RAC XII q36. Grcgorovius 1 i z7y. Caspar 11 74

37 Gregory 1. ep. ¢,z6, ,xq

38 Gregory 1 Dial. 3,z7 f. ep. q,z6; *9 p3* q, . Schulize I -*S t*- Ri- chazd9 cht

jp SchulttC Al lpr

4o Richards zqz ff. with all and further supporting documents

41 Gre&or I. ep. z,j8, ,38. oial. Pnef. LMA iv mag to i<hsrdi) €ircgorovius l i z6y. Srppclt 11 i 8 If. Caspar 11 3q3, # q. Fischer, Der riitdere Kleru5 q3 f. {me from-

for ctuurrnal ctuurnts). Cf 74 *^- ben $y. Kühner, Gczci¢cn 1 z6z. Ders.,Die Kreuzfige,Studio Bcrn

^4- IO. **ISO. @8tZc,** The Fti<den ¢iq. Daniel-Rops7 6. R ichsrds y-, p. Herrmann, Princes of the Church

'7 also uses the vocabulary of the -HciIige war- back to Crcgor

42 Eühner, Lexicon y8 f. Stratmann **Iv 8**

43 Gregory 1. ep. a,6. Richards zy f.

44 Cregor 1. cp. $'37; 6,io; 7-x i i **9,213**

45 **Gregor I. ep. 1,10; 1,45; 2,7; 2,38; 4,31; 6,33; 6,45; 7,24; 8,21; 8,23;** 8,x$; q,j8¡ q,io9 f., q,iqy. Wie- g "wd z36 f. Parkes zio ff. Seiferih y6. Schoptn jx f. Gontard I j3. Richards inj

q6 Gregory 1. ep. z,87; q,ii j. Browe z*8, 1fiB, ¥qy. Caspar 114pz. Even Ar gcncndt recently procnnr Grc- gor's basic anti-jxdic stance: frii medieval zqr

47 Gregory 1. ep. r,jya; z,7j; 8,zy. Lib. Pont. Vit. grp yE$. RAC XII pjj f. HKG II zto8. Grcgorovius 1 J 8d$ (t. Scppeit I$ f/. GOntald i y8. Richards ioi, ii8, i ff, **144. Altendorf 186 ff., 194**

48 Grcgornvius I i z65. Haller I **zio.** Richards jj f.

4fi Hartmann, Ccs¢hicIi'< Icaliens II *gq*

5Q Richards uq ff. with the Qoellen- **belcgm**

5I Grego' I ep. ,Wp; j,zyi zy,xj; ' j,yz. HKC \li zo8, j 8. crcgo- rovius I 1 265 ff. Seppelt II 15 ff. Richards az £.

52 HKG II x j¥8

53 Gregor I. ep. 9,30

44 Gregory 1. ep. q, x. Haller I, sxo. Ciontard i 5q. Angenendr, early mirtclalter xiq. OrlandisfRomos- Lisson zz6 f., Ryo. Richards 6j f., r i6, i jy, *z#6* with all other sourcesbß ^B°^

55 LMA IV i66 j. Grcgorovius 1 i °*7 *eppelt II i ff.

j6 LMA II i jj ff. HKG 11 z zy f. Grcgorovius, 1 r z67. Fierdc i. Ri- chards r j

57 Maier, Miitelmocrwelt 39 Reia- del, Grundlegung- ioy

yg Paol. Diac. Hist. lang. 3, i8; 3,i6. Dot Kleine Pauly ,rosa. LMA IV i 5i ff. HKG 11 z zoy. Hartmann, Geschichte Italiens II ind ff. Cas-

P^* !! 474 !!. Danncnbaucr // z . Dawson z9x, ryß. Seppclr/ Scliw-'B^^*o. Richards, ir f. Ull- man, The powerstcllung yy f.

y9 -rcgorovius I z6o ff. jcnal z j. Yg1. also the lolg. Note.

6o Gregory t. ep. y,jyt zz.ap. RAC XII 93x f. Hartmann, Ciochichte ita- licus II r8, ff. mspar ll 3q ff. Richards xu f.

6tHartmann , Geschichte Italiens II i8i. Caspar II 479 ff.5eppelt II ii. Holder 1

6z P-ul. Diac. Hist. Lang, ,8. Kelly zz. LhtA. IV z5z ft. Richitdi z98. Jenal i rd, izj f. Hürten 8. see also the following. Note.

6j Gregor 1. cp. r-3i z, i z,3z. Oral. j,a8. Paul. Diac. Hist. lang. -t,8. Hartmann, Geschichte Italiens 11 wo f., i yi f. r68. Caspar 11 47x f.

Heirs 7 >ppelt/Schwaigcr 5q. Zöllntr, Die politische Stellung r y6. Richardi 9j, r88 ff. in detail, which I partly follow here.

ge. There w'eitece sourceshiuweise

64 Gr-ao'- w 4J. s.iii r"-: 7.-si q, ; 9,b6 i. Paul. Diac. Hist. kanB- '.if. LMA 1 ao8 f. HEG 1 179 f. Herrmann, History ltz- tiens II ion tf. Caspar qyö ff. Von. rard i}q. ßeppelt/Schwsiger 6o f.

65 Gregot 1. tp. nt,iz. Psul. Diac. **Hist. Lang. 4,5; 4,25; 4,27. LMA I** zo8 f. Hartmann, Geschichte Ita- mens 11 p8 f., i6;r ff. Schnürec, ltir- **che und Kultur I r6p f. Ccspar II**

§yy, Apr. ScppcTt 1! zd f. S'oiincr, Germanism **and Christianity** tear. Richards 9j

j . Ci-scckc z f. s "hn yi. Dal- Finger By f. Mix zx6

66 **Pxul Diac. Hist. lxng. ,6; y,zy; 4-4i.LAM I xo8 f. Giesccke xo4 f.** ßehn yz. Holtzmann, ltalicnpoli-
tik 3o. Richards tqq

6y LThK VIII' xyo. Lß A 11 i8qq f. HKC II z *o7. HEG 1 yo8. Lccky, Sitrengcschichtc tl cz6 f. Caxel- Jieri 1.78. **Caspar,** Gcschichte **des** @Bpstc̨ums ii §^7!· Ludwig, Mas- senmord **cs. ksyne, The** succes-
sors 28z. Maier, Mittelmeerwelt i7- Richards, Gregnr z3z f.

68 * W-4-W.RßCIV K.Gngo- **rovius** II zy, 3y- **Donin II z6x.** Stentmann N rey. Caspar 11 j6q. Maier, Minclmeerwelt x 6

69 Harrmawn, History of Italy 11 i i7. Gregorovius 1 i x6s f. Hallcr I ziq. Cnspar 11 q88. Gontard i 5 . Maier, Miiielmcerweli z y.

Ders, ByeA** 76. Richards 6, XII z3j. Deér, The prerogatives y ff. 1

Beda h. e. i,s6; t,3t; x,i. RAC $t8. LthK 11' 8z f.VII' x6i. LMA

ya Gtegor t. ep. i3,3z fŸ- 8 -

Ñârtmann, Geschichœ

Irs-Hartmann, Gcschichte ltaliens IIliens 11 iyj f. Caspar 11 yoy ff. Sep- I1g f. *P ^^ !!! 4*® ff. 5tra'msnn Schieffer, IV 1o8 f.

pc|y Ît je. Hüntcin I §p f. &infrîcd-Bonifa---*94 *ontaed

7* LThK I!' ypiff.The Klcinc Pauly f. LMA 11 i3. HEC I §Q8. Fichtlrtg°° 74 Kühncr, ji8 ff.Zo. Gregorovius I i zyo. Hard "ren", Gesrhichte Italicns 11 r r8. Seppelt 11 u. Ostrogorsky 6g f.

.HaÏlcrI z6y. Lohaus et ff. IV 8ox mn° 37- Prinz, Zum fränki-schen und irischm Antoil Many sons of Christian ltönigt blicbrn unbaptized, so that after ein cvtnt. Victory of the pagan

Kuhnet, One Imperium 6y. After par¢ei could reign. Ygl. ctwc Schieffcr HEG i zx preserves Rome Angcccndt, early mid¥l0lt0€ 131 by the Phocassaulc to htutc AB Crcgor I. ep. z ,y6. Bcda h. e. t,jo -Little cens a reflection of Soincs yp Bad" h. e. 7,jj Ranges a)s imperial city°! 8o RAC XL 9jo f. Grcgorovius } 1

72 *Eraöe$. $,fii$.* **Lecky II zfa. Holds** mann, Gcschichï< lt8Ïims ÎÏ ¥ 8 § . Stratmann lY i ii. Ostrogorsky

***7+ ff. Richanh yj f.** 8 z LMA V $6ÿ. GregOrOVius I x z7p. Hürten zd ff.

6p f. Daniel-Raps yy6. Maier, 8i Gc¢gor I. ep. j,$j; zz,$t. Moral. Mi¢cc1mcerwc)t z§y ta,zp; 8,§6; z8,74.]oizn of $alis-

73 **Bede, h. c. x,z. LThK II' 8x f. u. z. bury, Pctlicrztims x,z6. The KTcine A. pj f. PaulylVgtq. Hartmann,History**

74 Orig. hont 4, in Ez. Ter . cdv. ' c Italians 11pj f. Buchncr, Germc-j-d. 7. ^ M. ¥,6. Vc'gt, Der Nic- nentum tjz. Hallcr I z 8 f. Dan-dcrgang yyg. Delius **7- Loh4U9 n c ^44 f.**

" b"^^* !* 75 If. s--dys f . AÏtendorf z8y, zpx. Evana, The

7$ LMA III i9i¢ ff. HEG 1 i8y f.,

thought of Gregory the Creet 8

ji ff., 4*7 ff. with eahlrcichm Li- Bj - !- *P' 3Ä3- 7J9- ^I,$j. Küh-teracurxngxbcn. Buchner. Ccrma-ncn'um ty6 f. Schmidt-Licbich, zp. Funk, Cr-gor ze. scltubcrr, Dacen ro ff. Col)ingwood/Myres Ceschic5tc of the Christian Church- zp1 ff-

ner, Lexicon jy f. Grcgorovius I z chc I tp8, Caspar Tl jj ff. seppclt

y6 Beda, h. c. ¥,xj ff. Greg.T'ur, §tzd; p,z6. Gregory t. ep. 8,jo. LMA I zzip f. t!I zpx6 ff. Gmgorovius 1 z Altendorf z86 f. dc Rosa jpy. zyg. Hartmann, **Geschi¢hEc Ita-about'••* !! ^7* f. 5cppe1' II jo ff. He-entschi<dcnc** tcllicri l7 p. Haller t z6y. Gontard 6th Buckncr, Cermanencum T7-The D9nicl rape zpz. Lohaus ff., r r ff., Jh. Scppel'/Schwaiger 6a. Europe in the ßittclalter t66. ßchieffer, Winfrid Bonifaxius 6y. Borei }J ff. Prinz, Zum fiänki-Quellenhinweisen

II p. Danncnbaucrll yz f. Gontazd Eyz. &ichac¢ls, Cccgor ff., ty ff. Recently 6bcnascht also Schcibcltcicer the and provocative rejection of the then Educational Foundations-: Bishop ss 8y Gmgor I, Dial. 4,4s ff. Fis¢hct, Bos1, Völktrwundcrung io9. Richards 6o f., 89. with all and further Quellenhinweisen

schtn and Irish share 3 7 f. 8 Heller 1 zi8. Neuwiena interprets77 GfegDC
l- ^P- 9-43i ^ ^-37i ^ .is. also Angenendt, although only

knspp. -ehcr the ihen fall from the antique nivtau intellck- **Mueller and 'heologischcr Bildung- Bn: Early mid)alcer zfa. 5. also Herrmann, Kirchcn£ürsten §y**

86 Seppelt 11.35. Hallcr 1 xr8 f. Cf. **the embarrassing evasions in RAC XII per f.**

*7 **Gcegor]. Moral. zz,y. In Ezcch. z £f. Hofmann, The gezc- rigc expression z**

88 Gregory 1 6'ioral. P. L. y , yo9 ff., 26,i ff. Altaner/Siuiher p8 f. RAC XII g 3. Aliendorf r87

8p Taionis, ep. zd Eugen. Tolet. praef. ad Quiric. Barcinon. ep. According to Hzrtmann, Geschichte lta- '°57 - HKG ll z zo9 f. (Baus). Richards q. On Cregor's unusual high protection in the Mînclzlrer Sql. Hñrien, Gregor the Great i6 *it.* In the 8th century, the -irite1ltkiu- elle t'iiteau . . fasr exclusive geisclicher Art-. 8anniurd, Europa ix3, but finds Ctcgor I. io his main work -immtt auf hohtm i4ivcau-, ja spricht von -literarischr Meisterschafr-, ibid. i 5i ff.

90 Gregory I tp. , 3o; LMA IV i66 f. fiunk, Cregor ¢3. Seppclt, Geschichte der Papsttums II j6 f- Dsnncnbaut- 7* ff.

91 Gregory 1. ep. été$at i i,ii2. Richard- *s-* ff. with many source cn-

kinweisœt- p. also p. z6g

qz **Vg1. bcs. Gccg. dial. prol. 8i E,yi 3,33; 3,35; 4,55. Moral. 17,31.** Horn. in Ezech. j,xj. Altanerf ¢UiÜ*^ 4*9 Funk, Grcgor XIII ff. **Richards 260, 265, 267 f. Frank,** Bcnedikt 3y ff. Altendorf i9j

q3 PaW.Diac.HisnLxngpq.Kuh xe,L'kk°*49 HKGHi jI (Y Ü.lMA ÎV*66 (M. Gerwing). Gr-got0'vitJg I I *7 - *unk, Crcgor XVII Richards ex, ray f.

94 **Gregor l. Dial. 1,2 ff., 1,7; 1,9 f., 1,12; 2,5; 2,7 f., 2,11; 2,24; 2,29; 2,32; 3,17; 3,20; 3,29; 3,38. Lecky** 11 io8 f. Daniel-Rops, Kirchc in the Early Middle Ages z8 . Richards, Cr^B - -*- ya. Frank, B<ncdikt a l. Alt<ndorf pj. Schcibclrcî- ter, The Bishop *'ï4- ^ - 74

95 G>B°+ 1. dial. i,q

96 Ibid. **97** Ibid.

p8 RAC XII 94*- Grcgorovius I t ^7 - Galler i z i8 f.

q9 HKCi li a mw ff. (Baue) Ibid. 3 r;' f. (Vogt). Hürien i6 ff. says unflatteringly that its -Main work . . hardly any more gcnicßbat are-.

100 G golDil4-3o;ç yMorat **$,jz. Keller, Reclams Lexicon zy6. Fic}tinBcr agz." LecLy, II zip f. a<isscl, Die Verehrung der Heiligen yzz. Duddcn !!! 437**

zor **Gregor l. Dial. §,4 r ff.**

102 Gregor ! P- 3-33- ""-- 7--7i p,cz8, Kcl1-r, Reclamc Lexicon jx8. RAC !!I 86p f. Gcms 11 z. Ab'. j r. Beissel, Oie worship the Heiligent78. Grcgorovius I t >7i- Bcringer 11 x3i f. Schnürer, Kirche und Kuliur I z¡8. Buchner, Germanentum içi. Haller l -x . Andres-n yi

103 GrcgOrOViug [1 *74

104 Grcgor I. ep. jo,yi §,jo. Grego ro i88 1^7l . Cnspar II jq2. Fichtenau, On relics 4 f.

105 Gregory I.dial. i,q, 3,i y; q,5 i. Do- **nin I 582 IV 293. Beringer II 231 f. Wilpert 17. Hartmann,** Ge- chiche Italiens ll zpj. homard z6 . Von den S¢einen z§5. FÎChtenau, Zum Reliquienweccn 8g. MiscÏs za6. Danncnbsucr Il y8 f.

106 Bernh. clairv. de considcrat. z,p. Kraft . Stratmann IV hey. Caspar ll xj. Dit rich, Gc-

history of the Eihik 11 a3}. Stppelt 11 38 ff. Sepptlt/Schwaiger 5g, dv f. GOrt¢8rd 1dI. Schta¢Llrn. Emperors, kings t 8s

^ 7 RAC XII pjo

zo8 Cf. Haller t zz1 £(.

zop LMA IV **4- **88. scppclt ii jq. Dsniel-Rops z8 . Gon'ard l6o. Richards uj ff. Ullmsnn, Curia Gchistory of the Papacy 8

z **zo Paul. Diac.** Here. Lang. t,zp. Ri- chards xfi f. Kelly 8z

ii i Mlmann, Kung Gcsc£ichre des **Papsttums 50**

8. ftAPtTEL

BnuxlcHlco, Cnrcrrnn II. wrio

DxcoaERT t. OR -ÓtE Y£RC¥tTtlST-

LICHUNG DES KÖNIGSGEDANKENS»

i &ich "rds zzo

¥ Anton, fiütstenspiege) yz

y Frcdcg. q, 8

y Lib. Hist. frsnc. z

y C'cg. Tur. p,g: Fred<g- 4-7- y,t ff., ,zy. Paul. Diac. Hist.

Lang. gar z. jona¢, Vita CoTumb. i,x8. LMA 1 y9 , ll y6i, i8 i6, i82o f. lV iy9q f. Schulite 11 i6z. *Caucaieci* l 8# f. Zatschek z's f. Lówe, Deurschland *7. lasko

*^4- Srcinback, **Dss** firanLen- reich 3¢ f. Ewig, Oie frankischen **Teilungen 68d, –s. -9+- 7 f Ders., Dic MerowiTigerxci¢ j6.** Ders., Die Merowinger Jo f. Ders., Studien zur Merowiwgi- schen Dynastie . Bund z83 f.

6 Cregor 1. ep. 5,58 ff, 6, j; 8,q. Fndeg, q,y; q, ja. Jonas, Vitn Co- lumb. i,z7. LThK 11' §88 IX' qiqu.

2 A II 727, IX 1201. LMA I 1276 III 7*7-*CÜUIL 0 ll z7t. Hartman,History of Ireland rm, iy$. Sepprlt tj z8 f. Casper II Syd f. j "Iifzsch, G "schi-hu des Dcucschcn Volk<

16d. I-fsller I **zzz.** Ewig, **Die** dlEo- sccnMainzerTxz.**Ders.,** Det Mar- tinskult iz f., i8. Richards xzo f. McCulloh }j If.

7 Gregory 1. cp. 6,d, i i,q6, i i,.t9. Caspar 11 Roo. Exvig, The hIero- WÍngerzcit $fi. PDtttal 119

8 Greg. Tur. 8,31; 9,4. Fredeg. 4,19; 4,27; 4,29; 4,42. Jonas, Vita Co- lumb. z8 f. Ewig, Studien zur rne- towingischen Dynastie i6, z . Ders., Das inerow'íngísrhe Frankenreich gen f-, -tio- Oers., Dic Merowingrr $o ff., rat. Pontal iyz f. Bleiber, Dos Fcankenreich ij8 f, vil, suche die folg. Atim.

9 Fred¢8- 4- '-- 4-'q ff., 4-3*- 4,§p ff. jonas, Yita Columb. z8. Lib. Hisc. Franc. go. Yita Marii sppctldix. Kcllet, Reclamo Lcxi- **kon 317 f. Taddey 197. Altaner/** Room 4 7 LMAV 6z . Schulrzc, H is5 f., tas f. Mühlbachcr I o. Cartellieri 1 8 f Leviion, Aus rheinischer und frankischcr Früh- Zeit rrq. 2wólfer 7e. Deline, Ge- schichtc der irischen Kirche iw. Zatschek zo If. Liiwe, Deursch- -< *7 *- Bütmer, Gcschichtc dei El$a® 37 ff. Haller, Enrstehunb *3o I.* Steinbach, Das Franken- reich j5 ff. Pórtner zy. Msier, Minclmcerwelt zq3 f. Doppclfcld *7 Schlesinger, Zur politierhcn Geschichtc W f. Amon, Fñrstcri- epiegel t. fiwig, Zum christli- chen Kiinigsgcdankcn iq, zi f. Ders**., Dic** frgnkischcn **Teilungcn** 2o8. Dele., Das Merowingische Frankenreicii km f. Ders., Die JVterpwingcrzeit j6 f. Den., The Merovingians yr f., ¥ zy. Angc- nendt, Taufc and politics **161. Bund 287 ff. Bleiber, Das Fran-** kenrcich i3q f. Zn the v8tic. ex eVcnt. in the Bible cf. Dcschncr, Ab¢mals, ch. 16 -Der @eissS- **gungsbeweis-** 5. z xg II.

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145 f. Bund 294 ff.

I1 Fredeg. 4,40; 4,52. Paul. Diac. Ge-sta episc. mett., in MG script. 11 x6o ff. Vit. arn. c. z ff. cit. c. z, c.

, c. y. RGAK I qj6. LThlt ' 7 Taddey 4'. rLMA 1 67 . ioi8 f., III qzq. Mühlbscher I jy ff. Sta mer y i. Oexle, Die Kam-lingcr z o ff., 36i. Hlswicsehka, The Ancestors of Charlemagne y i ff.

12 Zol)ner, The po)itical fitcng

116 f.

ij Lib. HtSt. Fr4fiC. C. 4 ^ Frcdcg. $,yö. Ewig in HEG I o8 speaks of -the reorganization of the R-ir£s-, emphasized by him.

14 ° &- 4-i li 4'i7 . Miihlbathtr I z. Ewig, Die Mcrowinger ia6 f., iso. Bleiben, The Frankish Empire

148, 152

15 Fredtg. d'i i 4' 7i 4-y§. LMA l ^°4- Mühlbacher 1 4-. Ewig, Die Merowinger iz8, i3i. Bleiber, The Frankish Empire i 6

i6 LMA I yio. eternal, Oie MerowingA£ 13s. Stay, The Ftsnken-

reich 152 ff.

17 **Fredeg. 4,53; 4,58 ff.; 4,65; 4,68;** t-7*' 4-74 ff. Lib. Hist. franc. 4* LMA \!!! 4 p f. V yyo. HKG II x7 ff. Hauck \ oz. Schuit-c it +79 f. Carrcllieri l zo6 f. Schnu-lee, church and culture I c j f. Zwolfer . Levison, Aus rhcini-schcr und frgnkischer Fr¿ihzeìc r¢8 ff. Buttner, Die Alpenpolitik 8a.5tamcr 3 r. 1.iiwc, Dcuuchland 7*- osl, Biyerische Geschichte x8. Dere., Dar -AdcIshcilig*" +7-Dere., Eurnpa im Mitieialcer yq. Maier, Mittdrneerwelt 3oq. Las-ko xi4 . Ewig, Zum christlicl\en Königsgedariken iq, zi. Ders, The Merowingcrzeir $8 f. Ders, The Cult of St. Martin i8. Ders, The

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p. KAMTEL

Die Kirche in der Merowingerzeit

z Zach By
z Lasko z j
y Hauck, cf. note tj
4 Daniel-Rop9, cf. note z
y . All que]len references hei E. Dc-

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6 **Ebd. 897 ff., 913. Hauck '1952 I** j f. Got'lieb x6. K. Schneider, The Frankenrei** *4

7 Schultzc II zz8. Daniel-Rop5)o;r. Ew'B, Studies on the merowingi see Dynasty y1 Note to. Maier, Miztelmeerwelt y8. Prinz, Adel und Christentum y ff. He, Early monasticism ij . Richards zrp. Pirenne, Mohamed and Charles the Great j6

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zz R **.AC VIII, Callia f pxo. RAC XII** Lex ff. {Hoffmann}. Dopsch, reprint 'z9d r II zyj. Heinsius y4 . LasLo zzj. z8y. Sprandel, The mcrowingisciie Adel q, ßosl, Oer **-Adelshcilige- z . Bleiben, Das Fr "nkeorcick xjy f. Schutze, Vom Reich der Franken 8o**

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156

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15 **Greg. Tur. j,1z, j,zy f. Ange-** neodi, Early Middle Ages£ 183 f. Haendler, The Dutch **Church in the Era of the Migration of the Yölkcr j**

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mbnn, Bishop and Heresrbafi J7 +. Kaiser, Kónigtum und Bi-ichofihcrrscliafi qd ff. Mckitre-rick, The Frankish kin¢doms f. Orlandi/Ramos-Lixson x38. An-gmendt, Friihmittelalier W . Schtibclreitcr, Der Bischof i6 ff., also writes that the term -nobilis- dominated the yites of the Merovingian bishops and there was no real -common descent in any of the mcrowingisque Bishop Tab. p. sq¸jo. Ders., Der friihfràiikiiche Episkopai i q ff.: -TsisSchlich srheini a church career fiir lowgcboreoc kauin mdgtich gcweitn en icin.- (i 36J . anch Bat1t1Ì:n 7 -

r8 Ryu. Ord. {$ri) c. i4; ry. Syw. Ord. {f38) c. in. sin. Ocl. (4i) c. y; =a, 3}. Many weaker single-cla-*<^ °' ^ + * W7 **I1**. you Demougeot RAC VIII 9oz f. Kai- ser, Bicchofsherrschafr 7 ff. Dere., Konigtum und Bischofs-herrichsfc q ff. Angentndt, Early Middle Ages iy8. 2ur -Zwangsgewalt des Bixchofs- cf. also Heinzelmann, Bischof und Herrschaft 6 f.

i q Cf.about 5yn. £pao(if}c. iq.5yn. Place. {yqi} c i i. HGK 11 z, i iz. **3+ . 4^ f. Angenendt, **Frühmittelalter 178. Goetz, Leben im Mittelalter 65 f., 92. Vgl. auch 123 f.**

10 Greg. i. cp. y,yo. RAC XII p 7 9m {B.K. Vnllmann). Dopxch 'zgfix 11 z}3. 5trrnfBartmuss do. Bleiber, **Das** Frankenr¢ich zjj f. Fink fi f. Nonn, Eine frünkis<he Adelxsippe i86 ff. Or1andis/Ra-mos-Liseon z38. On Gregory I's low level of trust in the Wltkle-ms, see erwa Scheibelrcicer, Der Bischof z y. Emperor, **kingship** and bishopric 8y f. Of course, the basic possession was also **the Byzsn'inic Church since the y.]h. 6¢e¢ig grown up, cf. something %inkelmsnn, Die östlichen Kicclte- ^37**

zz Cfeg. Tur. §,§p. Vit. pscrtim. 8. Cf. also the introduction by M. Gcbaucr, in: Gregor von Tours, Frdnkiecht Geschichte I z5. LNIA IV t67p f. (Anton) &iickcrt, Cul-¢urgescfticlite Il jjx IN., y¥o f. Hauck "yyx 1 'z7 f. ty0. Schu-bcrt, Gcschithit der chrisdichtn Kirche I xy i ff. Stern/Barimuss 6o. Maier, Minelmeerwelr zu f. 5trohtker, Scnatorischer Adel 7^ ff. Ders., Gcrmanentum rqj. Köllner, Geschichte der Franken £t9, 1 jx, 283 ff, 1$$. LaUteffßafln

je. Claude, The order is ff. Prinz, Development zy8 If. D "rs, The Cult of the Saints J38 ff. Dert, Nobility and Christianity 3 fl. Den., Herrschahsformen' der Kirche S f., if f. Sprandel, The merowin-gischt Adel 9.Graue, Yolk jj8 ff. Ders., Die Gtwalt bei den Anfän- gen yi. Bund j o. Aubin, Stufen Si ff., bes- 74 - FlflCkensicin, Grundlagen und Beginn yi If. Emperor, Kingship and Bishopric rule 8 ff. Angcomdi, Early Middle Ages z6j f. Cf. z99. Anton, Trier im friihen MiMlicr *Iss* f.

22 **Hauck I 127, 137 ff., 144 f. v.** Schubert, C¡tichichtn der christli-chen Kirche I z6o. Bodmer 39 f. Pfister, Gaul. Institutions th If. h'iaier, Mitielmecrwelt xi7, zzo, m}. ÜeCkeftStftfti flttttd$agen and beginning ix. Prinz, Oie bischöf- fiche Stadtherrsrhuft j If. Ewig, Die Merowingcneit öi. C;raus, Yolk soy f., 3 j. Haendler, Ge- schichte dn Frùhmircelalrcrs x_4 . Zo1Iner, Geschicftfic dev Franken i8z f. Claude, The bestcllation *t. Bor8t yox. Pontal zp f-- 7y-

Schnei-

the, **The** franc\reich ®4' ' t- S udi<n z§y

23 Schnitte IIff. Maier, Miittl- zxo.Zöllncr, Geschich- cc of the Franks i8j f. Ewig, fränkischen Tflilungen 7.1. ßcise . Studies ¥66 ff.

*4 Greg. Tur. z-^7- '.s **-- '. ' d,p. Syn. **Ori. (149) io.** Stamer z f. Scheibelreiter, Der Bischof in mernwingischer Zeit i4ff.

zy Cf. sth syn place. ($3}1° 3- 4' z Clermon i535l ° z. Syn. place. **(f4! *- 3 Xcnn-**

26 Brühl, Vodrum zj, cf. iö f. Sprsndcl, land ownership and fassungsverhaltnisse qt f. zr5. Prinz, Die bischöfliche Stadthcrrsch "ft t f. Ders, Oie Rolle der **Iren zo¥ f. Ders., Askesc und Kul- tur jo ff. Pontal Bj. Bleiben, Das Frülte-** Frankenreich 37

*7 Pontal 8q f.

-s Syn. Orl. I5I1) C. zy¡ y38 C. 13. e. ii; i8 f., 9q c. z); i6. {yö if 56i) c. i f. Tours l 6y) c. Grundlz- i5 f. 3. syn.To]. (638) c. i 5. Ponral zwo. Oie ecclesiastical tithes zz. Pontal 8p f., t ja, eye ff. Orlandisr Ramos-Lisson z j, 1 j8 ¥8j u. a.

xq Syn. Tours y67. Syn. Mäco- ^' S - ^ !^ *4 . LäGko zz y. Angenendr, Frühmict<lxlrcrz'p. Goel:z, im Mittelalter 8y. Ponral with the voucher notes. Cf. also the previous*B-^-= o 5}'^ *P-^^ (1*7T C. 8. Syn. Orl. (j i r l c. i ff.¡ i 38 c. iii 54r c. 9i z4. *$ p9 c.6i zz.* Syn. Macon 1 8}) c. i. Syn. Auxerre to 8y c. i6. Edicr. ChlothaFi *+4 <- --i 4 5yn. Tol. {6H) ° 7- Take z6o ff. Das Schmidt, Oie OStgermancn i7* Beck, Remarks.DhondF yi. Prinz, Askese und Kultur 68 ff. Pontal syx ff. Orlaridis/Ramos-Lisson zis, who was auBcr the Slavs 36 Greg. Tttr. z,z3, -t.36, $,36; 6,i I; **although** also from the **°free classes** nen der Kirche- spricht. But how itis with these, seeibid. meerwelt also xyo.On the biblical description Diei-hung der Sktavenhalttl^8 *B - neutens Buggle res ff.

yt Bosl, Dic Unf ih-i*4 After drm HEG endeavored the chrisrl. **srtzgehung in** der **Sk)avenfrage** -schon ieii Konstantin …, wesrgstt Harten zu mildern-: 85. to the actual ß e - Sy. find: Kriminalgecchichte 1 z65 ff.

$z Greg. Tur. y, , 6,gd. To the Zeichnung Chilpcrichs cf. Wtostus, Chilperieh I. in RCA +&^ - 4 ff. Bleiben, The Frankeereieh t3B. Kaiser, Königtum und Bischofsherrschaft 83 f.

yy Davidsohn t 67. Cf. also Siontur activity I5 ff. Hauck I zoi f., 3.5 ff. Schubert, i4*History of the Christian Sir- Parische I r66. Marcust, The sezuellt Question yq. Fleckenstein, **ner, Heilige der Deutscltm** Ponral zwo. Oie ecclesiastical tithes ii ff, Also (Nazi-lTheotogc Lortz zz. Pontal 8p f., t ja, eye ff. Or- calls the state of dicscr Eirchc landisrRamos-Lisson z j, 1 j8 ,-overwicgcnd high alarmie- ¥8j u. a. rcnd-- Boniface 1 j ^' S - ^ !^ *4 . LäGko zz y. Ange- 8,xx; p,:tg, 1o,xd. Menzcl 1. nendr, Frühmict<lxlrcrz'p. Goel:z, back, Culcurg schichteII Leben im Mittelalter 8y. Ponral 4'7 ., I7. a cÜ l I36 IG I $., i o f. with the voucher notes. 3 $ ff., 6 . Marcuie, Die sezuel- Cf. also the previous*B-^-= le Fcage }$. Schubert, History o 5}'^ *P-^^ (1*7T C. 8. Syn. Orl. of the cyrisilic church 1 x66.Bod- (j i r l c. i ff.¡ i 38 c. iii 54r c. 9i z4. mer q. Neussfotdiger i iz, rio. *$ p9 c.6i zz.* Syn. Macon 1 8}) c. i. Dawson z9d. Aubin, The Um- Syn. Auxerre to 8y c. i6. wsndlunB--z. Sehie(fcr, Winfrid- Edicr. ChlothaFi *+4 <- --i 4 5yn. Bonifacius i jo, i j). I-asko xi . Tol. {6H) ° 7- Take z6o ff. Ciraus, people i ry. Steinbach, Das Schmidt, Oie OStgermancn i7* Frawkerireich xy. Eggenbergcr Beck, Remarks.DhondF joy.Prinz, Askcxe und Kultur jo. yi. Prinz, Askese und Kultur 68 ff. P8nia *33. ^44r ^iz. scheibelreiter, The Bishop i 3x If., x o f. Pontal syx ff. Orlaridis/Ramos-Lisson zis, who was auBcr the Slavs 36 Greg. Tttr. z,z3, -t.36, $,36; 6,i I;

6,y6; 8,tz; 8,zz; 8,jz. Cf. aurh 5,49 f., 6,22; 8,31; 8,41 u. a. Vita
Fi1İ*-4 *- '+ Bcrechar. xø. Hauck I tyo, joy. Rückcrc, Culcurgelayer< 1i øs f., 5^ - 5*4- 5^7- Berr r8 ff. GIUØØ 1 14 GrøuS, Volk j. Srhcibclr "it<t, Der Bischof fix (.

37 **Greg. Tur. 3,35; 4,39; 5,36; 8,20.** MC Ser. MM* * 37 *. Keller, Reclams Lcxîkon tz8, . Walterscheid, Heilige Deutsche Hermat 1 i83. 8admer öo ff.

j8 Greg. Tur. ş, x. Hauck 1 iyi. Bodmer Sz f., 8q f. Meyer-Sickendick t6o. ScÍbst dtr grave robbery was inn
2nd century in Merovingian rcicb weît verbrcitet. Werner'
Fcmhandcl şßd

jq Greg. Tur z,i i 6,7i 6,3ß; ş,$-ßodmcr 6ş

40 Greg. Tur. ,ąz: *.3*. 7.=o; 8,i9. Mühlbacher 1 6ø. ßodmer öş f.
Scheibelreiter, Der Bischof 261. fČaiser, BlschofsÄcrrscÄsft yp

41 **Greg. Tur. y,3y, y,j6. VgÎ. zo,jJ**

ąs **Yv . Dcsiderii Cadurca c. 8. Acca Theodsrdi suet. ononymo c. 8 ff. Bcrr xą ff.**

4J **HKG it a top**

44 **Contin. Fredȼg. j. On Itœlus cf. filodoard, His'. Kcm. cccl. z,to. Greg. Tur. 6,g; .1y; 8,jp. Hauck I j6y. Rucken, Culturgosckichte)t 500 f. Hentig 1 389. Prinz, Klerus**
and Krîcg ty f. Heinzcłmann, Bischof und Hcrrschafr d . Kaicrr, Kônigcum und Bischofshe-rschaf' 9i. Mental y8 ff.

45 Greg. Tur- 4-7' 4'^*- 4-3 ^- 5 - 5,qo; q,3ş; to, th. Cf. also 8,jd. Bonif. "P- 71. LThK IV' 8q3 f. Ruckerr, Culturgeichtc II 499 . Petri, Dee Rhcin şq6. Ewig, Trier inn Ł4erowingerrcich i yr ff. Dcschner, The Krenz i8 . Meycr-5ickendick i J i. Heinznlmann, 8i-s hof and Hetrschah 6 z

ą6 Greg. Tur. 4-4z; S-zo- VB1- 7,49. LThK Yll' ş 1. Rückert, Culcur history 11 Jœ ff. Bodiiier 6ş. Ewig, Die k4erowinger und das Imperium yz f. Richards yo. Pon-'al I z f. Scheibc!'citcr. The bischof 1§ $t Anrn. 7y

'l7 Crupp II joş f. III jąą

48 Greg. Tur. 6.y ; bcs. p,jp If., zo,z ş f., zo,zo. Rück<rc, Culcur- historic II şzx. Neussfoediger
i i6 f. Bodmer ö6. Ewig, Frñhmitcłal'erIichc SrudÏC^ 4^ f. Pontal
i dø ff.Scheibelreiter, Königitöch ter i tf., zy If. Angcncodt, early mittelaltet i78 f. Ennen, Women in middle age $ ff.

øp Caȼsar v. Arles, Stat. sanc'. virg. *c. $.* Bcncdic. Reg. ş p ,¥

yo Syn. Mãcon (ş8j) c. y

y' Syn. epaon (s^7l ^ Ey. Ayn. Orl. (s i3) -z p. s3® -- -'- s43- - Clermont (S3S) c- 6. Mêcon y8z o. s®3-' ": s- z6. Syn. tol. (694) - 8. C1ianer/Stuibcr 49y f. OtlandisJRamos-Lisson zjo f., zj If., jo6 lf-+ fi8o. Vol. Des1ner, Abcrmals 453 f.

yx Syn. Clermont (yy5) c. p. Ayn. Pa-^'^ (*^4) ^- *7- @!. duch Edictum Chlotharî

jj Greg. 7ur. y,tz. Mctzer/Page l j66. LThE I' 8şą

54 **Greg. Tur. 1,20; 5,6. Vgl. auch 6,5**

55 **Greg. Tur. 8,1**

o.KARTEL

DŁHER*uFKuwFFD¥ K*hDrœGsR

i Cont. fredeg. iy

z Ibid. zo

3 Braunfels, Charles the Great {iqqi) Yes

4 GSùO ßa ą. Ewîg, The fr "śnki6<hcn Tcilings 6q3
Fredeg. ą ,8ş. LThK lX' yą8. Miihlbscher 4+ f. Ewig, Die Me-

rowinger ¥6j. BTciber, The Frankcnrcich t6t. Ebling jy f. Na)acc-H "driIl with. after Afü/fcr, Bi- schof Kunibert von KÖln T67 ff.,
^79- ^8 ff. Sck-lze, Vom Reich der Kranken 8z. Cf. also the £-!B **note.**

6 Frcdeg, q,8ö ff. LTbK lX' J8. LMA iv est, z7 7 . Kühncr, Lcxi- kon §c f. Mûhlbacher I gj. Ewîg, **Die Merowixger i 43, z4y f. Friese** y6§ ff. Bleiber, Des Frsnkenreich **16a f. Ferner die folg. Note.**

7 Lib. Hisr. Fnnc. §}. Vita '\ 'ilfr. c. z8i jj. Vir.Cenrudis c. 6. Sigeber- li chronica a- 6y6. LThK TX' jg8. LMA IV 7^7. ^ ° !*-^ g$ f.y81 ff.
Neuss/ocdiger7 6 IT., zx7 f., z jo. Bü'tner, Aus dcn Anfängen z6§. **Löwe,** Dcuischland 73, 75 f. **Maier, Mittelmeerwelt 323. Las·** ko zz4. Sprig "dc, Oie Einwcisu "g xy ff. Ders, Abicheiden r 5z. **According to** Fischer, Der Hausmeier d6 ff, **Dsgobcrts** Venicbt was voluntary. **In contrast,** rightly: **Sprigadc, Abschncidcn 1$1ff.**
Prinz, EntwicLlung zip f., 1yo f. Ewig, Die Merowingeczeit $ Cf. Ders., Noch einmal xum -Sta "ts- srreich- Grimoalds Syd ff. Ders., Die Merowingcr nty ff., i 5ö f., r6) f Schulzc, Das Reich der FranLen 8$ f. Stcinbach, Dss Frankanrei1 yp. BraunfcÏ9, Earl of the Grogc i . 5ck-eider, The Frznàonrcich +7-Bleiber , Des Frnnkenreich i6i ff. Bund z97 - Buczcn No f. Meyer-Sickendick **163**

8 LMAtY6o C*q6f.(snUy- fanghe). Mühlbacher 1 . Hümmeler i3q f. Prinz, Frühcs MÔnch- *tvm* i85 ff., x28 f., jjg. Amer, Zur Vtrwandtechaft r ff.

9 LMA IV 6ozt f., zjy6 (Van Uytfanghc}. Keller, Reclarns Lexikqo xx8 f. Fichtinger z o f. Hñmmeler i 3q f. Schneider, Das Franken-

rich 7

ro LEIA /Y -yy6

ii Lib. Hist. Frsnc. ¢. Cont. Frcdcg. i f. Vit. Balth. x; Io. LThK If' y f. LMA I i 39i f. Ill i¡3 i f. Mayr- Hurting i39 ff. Bltibcr, Das Fran- kcnmich iy8 ff. Ewig, The Mero
winger 149, 153 ff.

12 Zosammcnstell-^B der Qucllcn übercr Ebzoin bei B. Knisch in sci-
¢t¥I ñinlei¥tzng elt delt **Ë4SSiones** Leodegnrii, 5S rer. mer. V z-tq ff. Pass. Lcud. Il c. z. Vit. EÏig. c. j6. LMA 1 i1q6 f., i jqz. l1 i 8i8, III iqu ff" i8zq f. **Ewig,** Die Mero- **wingerzcit 6o. Otre,** The Mers winger i çz ff, ifio. Fisctitr, Der Hausmeicr Ebroin7 f" 7 6 fl.,
109 ff., 174 ff. Zöllner, Die politi· sche Stelluitg 7 rj f-, tt§ f. Stein- b-ch, Das Frankenrcich yp. Blci- **ber, Das Frankenreich 158, 163.** Schulte, Vom ReichdecFtanken8 i 3 Pass. Lcud. l c. i f. II c. j. LMA Y i88j. Hauck 1 H7 f. Fischer, The Hsusmeiec Ebroin roy ff. Prince. Askttc and culture 83 f. Borst yos f, Ewig, The Merovingians ido.
boffläÏ +97 ff.

*4 Lib. Hist, Franc-4j. Cont. Fred z. Pas. 1.end. I c. ¢ ff. 11 c. 2. Vit. Filib. c. **z4- LhtA Ill** zyjz V z88y. Hsuck i jjy ff.B5rtncr,Gecchick- tc dcs ElsalJ 6y. L6vc, Dcursch- land 76 f. Maicr, Mitcclmcerwcl' yc§. Ewig, The Mcrowinger so f., ¥6j. Dcrs., Dic Merowin- B-rteit do. Sprigadr, Die Einwei- sung ja f. Fischer, Der Housmeier fibro¡n io8 ff., ii9 ff., ip ff.,
^7® f. Zehner, The political position on. Borit **Joy.** Eblin& i 3 r f. Bleiben, Der Frankenrcich xa3 f. Steinbach, Oas Frankenreich 39

15 Conr. Fredeg. z. Lib. Hist. franc. q . Pass. Lcud. z. S. also the

following note.

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16 Lib. Hisr. Franc.tj. C-m. Fredeg. f. Pass. Leud. l c. rj ff., ap, jr Cf. **A III z yjz V 788j. Vogel II jyj If. Hauck I jp ff Sptigadc, Abschneidm z j j L Ders., Die Schulze, Eitlweisung '7 *- Maier, Mitteİ- the Franks *4 !- mecrwcİc jz4. Ewig, The Mcrp- $. Codex. Caroİ. cp. wingcrzcit 6o f. Ders., Die frünki- Todd<y gij f. Mühlbacİier I divisions 113 If. Ders., The Zwöİfer 8x If. Maier, Middle|- Merovingian t6y ff. Wallace-Had- meerwel¢ zyo, jzj If. Pfister, rill, The Long-Haired Kings z j6 f. C-ul. Norrsrive of Events 1*7. tailor, King's Choice j6y f. $tern/Bar¢muSs 6$. Lasko x zy. Stcinbach, The Fran1en Empire o. Naurk, A U¢rcchtcr 734 !*^'^*' Bonc you f. S<hulzc, The Rcich Enrwicklung 2qo f.' zg8.** Telİen- **of the Franks 8# L For Fischer, Dhr bach, Europe jpj f. Steinbach, Hausmeier Ebroin i j6 ff., isr Bi- The Frant'cnrcich §o f. B)cihcr, schof Leodcgar twar dcr -wirkli- The Frpnkenrcich '6j.*^*B• The head of the Yerschwörung°, Mcrqwingerreich 6 z**

but has nothing to do with the murder tac- z z Vit. help. (MC SS rer. Morov. has nothing to do with m e . Scheibc1rci- 6,rzo). YBt- - -h Beda h. e. j,zp. Eer, Die Vcrfalschung der 'IX/irk- LThK X' 886. Levison, **Aus rhei- lichkeit j zo ff. Eer, The Bishop nian and Frankish' early period**

****7- Stgllt iiberhaupt °eine ver- -68 ff., " s !- Schmidt, Die mnr. mchr'c Beteiligung von Bischü£cn** germancn **71,7*f.,** By. Ausffilirli- **in miTitarian actions in the sie- cher Albects '34 ff. Fefner Zöl]- benten]ahrhundert- fcs'. nch, The political position of Ttg ff.**

'7 **LMA III ¥y x. Emig, Dic Mcro- Bleiben, Frankish-Carolingian wingcr z6y II. On the ?as9io cf. l¢löstcy ixy. Petri, Der Rhein 6¢tj. Scheibelroiter, Die VrrÜiTschung Schieffer, w'infrid-Bonifatius p6.** of reality 3 7 *!, b "s. jop. **Doblcl** Z ^7 *-

See also the following. Note zy /amp3ch, Dss ApostoÏat zyy ff.

18 Lib. Hist. franc. q$ ff. Cent. Fre- Today one formulates -xensibel-, deg. j f. Pass. Leud. 1 c. to, z $ f., versierier, -wisxenschaftlichcr-, 37- LMA I 438i 8§§1 If. Vit, calls dss erwa -Lsndnohroc , Wilfr. c. 33. mñhlbaehcr 37- 44 f. -Bcsiizverschiebungcn- etc. Ygl.

Buchner, Germanentumi63. g. HEGI i j6

ZWolfflF 74. ebling ixx f. Wallace-zj Beda h. e. ,q If. Lib. ponr. Wit. Hsdrill, The Leng-Haired Kings5ergii i6. Vir. Willibr, c. q f. Cont.

z38 f. Ewig, Die Merawingcrzeit Fredeg. 32. LThK X' r r66. Neuss/ 6i. **Dcrs,** Die Merowinge^7° -. Oediger i 36 f. Zw'ölfer 8 i ff. Le-

4 Ê. Maier, Die Mittelmeerwelivison , Eng]and 99 ff, 3 ff. Ê, 3*4 /i9cher, Der Hausmeier Eb- Aus rkcinischer und frankischcr roin rq . °4* . +i8ff. Steinbach, Frühieitz£8 ff., joy ff., jI d ff. Das Frankcnreich No. Bund $+7 Wampdeh, Das ApQ-'° ^- *43 ff.

Meyer-SickendiCk *77 f. Büttncr, Mission Ltriü Kirchcnor-

iq **Lib. Hi-¢. FräFIC-47- Cont. Eredeg. ganisat' ^ 4+*- Buchner, Germa- t £. Paul. Diac. Hisc. Lang. .}7- ^-rttU/tt I63. Löwe, Deurschlsnd Taddey zyz, yyj f. LMA I yj III 8- f., o8 f. Srern/Bärtmu--7+-75.**

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76th Schicffcr, Winfricd-Bonifatius ¡'s ff., i jq f. Bleibrr, Early Carolingian K)öster z cy f., a ja f. Fritzc, Zur Entstehungsgeschichte ' o ff., ' j f. Tcllenb9ch, Europe joy. Albert6 47 Hsuck, Ein Ut-rights734 f. Prinz, Die Entwicklung zqz. Steinhach, Des Franken- reich yi, 3, q6 f. Flsxkamp, The fdihc Tile and Saxony Missian *a ff.,*P4

*4 Azmpch Da Apowoa' ip, zyz

25 Paul. Diac. Hist. lang. •4*' Lib. Hisf- Franc. yo ff. Cane. **Fredeg.** 6f.LMAnI*SS* 7*T'4°4 IV yyzy f. On the marriages of Pippin II. *B!- * ^^ ^7 47 ' - 'iO

26 Lib. Hist. franc. yz f. Conr. fredcg. o ff. LMA II t8zj f.,18yz IV i7i' 9 q ff. Mühlbacher I y f., . Löwe, Germany r i i ff.

*7 Pirenne, Ceburi des Abcndlaodes. Quoted from Komcrnann, Weltgeschichte li q6x ff.

28 LMA V S8o. HKG 11 z, 8q. Ploetz 68. heirs To. D "niei-Raps ii y II. Kornemann II @8. Dawson t§6 f. **Maier, Mittelmeerwelt 263 ff.** Gauss -7®. Cabrieli j)y ff.

29 LhtA I 8yj. HGC t jxy ff. Plocrz 68. xornemann II t 7 *!- < !- lieri I 9y ff. DawieI-Rops qio ff. Cahen l i ff. Gabricli 33y ff. ße- van q'>t ff. Antes 38 f. with many Break-in of the lslam 3z ff.

3° LMA i 8j ff. HEG 1 3 jo ff., 337 L. HGK 11 z, qt f. Kornemann lt 6p ff., q8z fI. v. Schubert, Geschichte der christlichen Kirche l zz6 f. Stadtmüller iox f., roy f. Maier, Mittclmeerwelt s 9 ff., **z68 f(., z8z, jg8. Montgomery 1 z§y, z yo. BertaUx $$. D9WSOLt zy8 ff. Eickhoff r43 f. Hunger tt.** Gabrieli i i7 -. jsq ff., 2q ff. Ghen I z i ff., 3z ff. Daniel-Rops **yz8 ff., qjj ff. Manga zo6 ff. Os'es j8. angencnd', Frtihmi'telaltcr xjj. Wagner, Der Einbruch des tslam jjo ff., 337 **- ^W^- Sickcndick tpo. Maxal, Das Byzantinischc keicli jj . To the /4ocivcn for the Arab expan-**sion cf. for example W.M. Watt i 5 ff. With regard to the fiasco of Christianity in **Africa,** G. Hacndler, Die sbcndldndndischc Kirche, rightly argues that in the Occident, there was little sympathy for the downfall of this once so **bedeutenden Kirche» {123}.**

3! Cont. Ft-d-g I3; an. Paul Diac. Hist. lang. 6,q6. Taddey, Lexikon 974. LMA V q14 - {Nnnn). Mühlbacher 1 }j ff., $8i y2 ff. ÜeFSsen zoj. Carrcllieri \ rjz. Eternal, The MartinskuTt 1§. DsnieI-ROP* 487-Buchner, Germanenruzn r6g. Pirenne, Birth of the Ahcndland **204. Lasko 214. Maier, Mittel**meerwelt 3zfL Steinbach, Das Franktnreich qy. Schieffer, Winfricd-Bonifatius z7. Braunfels, Rzrl the Great I z§ ff., t. Hlawiischka, The Yorfshren 6y. Watt 1s

3z Cont. fredeg. io ff., i 5, i8 ff.

j Mühlbacher 1 53. Angenendt, Early age z63

j4 Cont. Fred. ^4i +>. zO. LMA V es

r . **CHAPTER**

DEe He. Boulrxzius, oER -APOSTEL

DF R DRUTS CHEH - Ut'fD KOfvt S

1 Routet (Ed.). Kill Greatest Englisltman

2 **Neuss 37**

3 König/Witte IC

4 **Dawson 211**

Lorc,Bonzü:iiToLonFy-pically adapted, but partly ecstatic naziitic be-

kcnntnissen cf. Dcschncr, Mir Gott und den Faschisten i z} f.

6 Willib. Vit. Bonif. c. i ff.; ¢. LThK X' i i66. LMA II 9+7 - °°°° ^ ^ ^ ^ '

Thüringische Kirchengeschicbte l i6 f. wettcilieri i i,6. schief- fer, W infried-Bonif "iius roy ff. Schwamm, Ocr heiTiB^ Bonifaz i j. Fine* 4^ ON England and Bonifa- tius see Barlow, The English BackB ound z z ff. Haendler, Bo- nifatius 6p. See also the chronology in Rau, Briefe des Bonifatius 3 ff., yjz f.

7 BoniL ep. xc. w'illib. Vit. bonif. c. 5. Kühncr, Lexicon4 8. LMA II

4'8IV t66y. HKG III i ij

8 **Bonif. ep. to; d; zo ('ur mögli-**

For the inauthenticity of this bricfcs see Rau ZkG t p64 3J7 !-T- opp. A1; ZA; x6i jo; 'op. Oillib. Vit. bonif. c. j. Conc. frcdcg. zp. Annal. s. Aman di ad ß- 718. annal. Mosellani ad *- 7^* Alcuin, Vit. A/iliibr. ta,yj f. LThx iii' jcz f. x' pip f. LMA V z66§ f. Taddey, Lexicon jto. HEC I y yj f. HKG llT Hz, }}. He (B.) found support from the commander of the Franconian cartel Amöncbu'g.- Mühlbacher l f. Lwison, England 74 f. Herrniänn, Thürin i-B sche Kirchcngcschichrc f i, p . rp II. Buchner, Germanen um r6g. Cnspar II dp6 ff. HsJlcr I zpo. Löwe, Deurschlnnd xi6. Twelve 86. Schieffer, Wiiifried-Bonifaiiu5 ^7' ^ ^4 . Ijq ff. Lorrz, Bonifati- us zq. Seppclt/Schwaiger 7q. Wer- ner, Irish and Anglo-Saxons b39 b$. bVS. Z 4 ff. On the maw- cherlci tensions with Willi- brord ibid. zqo f. 5chlesinger, Zur pnliiiuhen Geschichte +t. O"'- son ii i. Fzdberg j i f., öo ff. Steinbach, Das Frankenteich ty.

'wand, The Bürabmg zo8. Haend ler, Bonifat^*7+. **7+. Burzcn, The Mcrowingcr österlich des mittleren** Rheins §3 ff-, 6q ff. Lindner i jo. Brsunfcls, Charlemagne. In Sclbsneugnixsen I z . with lot r6o ff. Angenendt, Frühmictelal- ter z68 ff. mentions Willibrord -Mis- **sionor in the course of the Frankish conquest˚ and writes of the holy archbishop that he had his with -crhcblichcrn effort outgcstat- tctes of the Echternach monastery to the Ka- rolingers and the own Yer- wand'schafc- anhcimgccn.**

9 **Bonif. cp. 6j; 69**

10 **Ibid. y3 !--** 7® **Cf. Ang-nendc, Die irisch* f'cr¢grinatio y6 f. v. Padberg: -Dic Prostitution als EndS£a8ion de¢ p¢tcgrin8¢io-: Wrnfreth-Bonifacius r ¥o**

11 **Bonif. cp. 6z**

12 **Ibid. ij**

13 **Brtnif. cp. ja. LMA]l pjp. Donin III ja6 t. Group »7• Ha)lcr I 1g6 f., zgrx Neuss, Church of the Middle Ages jy. Levison, England**

7* f. Gontard z6+i. Flaskamp, Der eonifaTiusbric£ j8 i. Schieffcr, W infried-Bonifatius iq8. Dawson xi i. In addition to the PrediB r sees v. Padbtrb Bonifatius through the -Tatrni8SiOft- Wirkco, **dHrtli the** dcmoflstra£'¥€ T5tÖIUI*B hcidni- cults: Wynfreth-Boni- fatiux 2x. Cf. 7q

14 Levison, EngIßft 7 . Ders., Aus rhcinischcr und frankisckcr Früh- **zcit z59 f.**

15 Hairstyle.io).PutDic. Hisn **Lang)ro,3jo.fix.Bzw.pi** Taddcy ay. t*4 A \ 8899 ! r r6 V zpz8. Spindler, f48ndbook I ,3d ff., there a wealth of li¢e- r "iurhin--is-n.

6 RGAK 1 a . LMA I *7* . Spindlcr, Manual I ' $ ¥ f., $g. Ä4üh]b8chcr I 4r. Cartcllieri I

zzz, ly 6yy. Br "ckman "y8. Türhlc i7 y. Sccrfi/Ba¢tKtuS5 7$ ff. Lion,

Germany T+7-Zöllncr, Dic po-
)itic position 1yz. Steinhach,
Das Frankentcich y8. Pircnnc, Die
G-bu= * 4' ^ '0Z, Grundlagen Bj f. Reindd, Grundlegung und beginnings i i8 If. Conecnr z, i 8. Frcilinger 6go Bonif. tp. 9 i f., 8z. Willib. Vii. Bonif. c. 6. Spindler, Handbuch

Itollc dec 1€*^375 ff., esp. jyj ff,
On Klos'erbischokn see Frank,
Oic Klasterbischofe passim- Zu
Kloster- uztd Wanderbischöfcn in Bayern ibid, jq8 ff. Da8 the Christianization of the irish communi schafc niel\t so umfassend, dag bcii7 the overflow much Apolngetik was in the game,has iu-gst M. Rich-

z$g, cap. Hcrrmann, Thüringi-
church history t zo.
Schieffer, Winfricd-Bonifatius xz Lem, Briefc des Bonifatius

tel gczcigt: Oie Kc|ten im Mittcl.
al'er z8j f., zy
Bonifat ^7 Qpcrlein, ţ7II. Rau, Karl der Groĭ{ez§

4 !- **z @OMt. €@. g@; S -i **i 73i** i07'

r8 Lib. Pon'. Greg. II. c, . LMA IvWillib . Yit. Bonif. c. j. Hamlcin ii
i6ö6 f. Ä4ühlbacher 1 yi. Reindel, Grundlegung I zz6 f. Mühlbacher I $6 f. Barton xzj ff- Reindcl, Grundl "g^-B --- !!! zo Bonif. ep. . WilIi6. Vit. bonif. c.

Buchner, Germanentum ryo f. Gontard 166. Halltr I z88 f. iq Schieffer, Winfried-1onifatius yz If- S<hramm, Der heilige 8onifat z f., jz f. P dbetg tig f.

7. LMA II 4ı8. Spindler, Hand- 24
buch l 229. Mühlbacher l 57. Heu- 25
wicscr, Geschichtc I in ff., io8, the i

Bonif. cp. z6
Bonif. ep. 50 f.; 57; 60; 63 f.; 80
et al. Cf. also Grupp t jqq. -In r5entire West with the exception of perhaps from Spain krankie es to iheologically educated chen-: 5cheib<lreiier, The Bishop veau of the bishop-: io8 f.

xi Bonif. ep. 44; 57i *-. $0. Willib. /'*- ° '- ° 7- dtv-Lexikoe 11 clergymen. Miihlbacher 1 y6 f. Bauerreiss

47! Caspar II 7c'6.Pissig ff.. 8p. To the gcringen gcistigcn
Ni- x ff. f-evisan, Aus rheiniwhcr and Franconian Fr-h--it. Bonif. cp. joi jz. LThK Y1* Izzy Grupp l 3qz.

Löwe, Germany tX' i iz7. **Hauck** I yr, j6j 11 y4ff. j j ff., öy ff., iz3. 2öepfcl 3o. Somek 7+- Delius iz5 ff., fi33 f. Maier, Mittelrfte-fM t 144 S'ernzBanmun8g. Lowc,A liuwd terarischtr Wideisacher passim, esp. 8¡ ff. Schieffcr, Winfried-Bonifatius .*4i*i°^+°°- wallder, Wege und Ziele AO3 ff., z o ff. Levison, England 7® !!! 88 f. Bekn tot. Buchner, Germanencum z68. Dreidel ! Ezo f£. Hal- I c86. Lautcrmann gy. Flecken-Clemens stein, Grutidlegung 6¢ If. Wolfram, Der Zeitpunkt der Bischofs-ler consecration z9y ff. Reindel,Grundlg gung r6y ff. Ament,Merowingifredcg. graves qj. Kahl, Zur

Dres*lneri ja, i}6 ff. Schubert, Geschichte der christlichen Kirche l yio. Pirtnne, Geburt *44 Hzlcr I -p Pünz Klnu4 war 8q- Kawerau. Ceschichie of the medieval church 32. Hartmann, Ort Synoden der KaroIinbßfZtit 47 ff. .-7 Bonif. ep. jyi 6o. Syn.Soissonsc. y. Syn. Rol f74ST MG cpist. sclcct. I. In detail about Adclbcrt (and ler **):** Gurjewirscft io8 ff. z8 Banif. ep. du. LMA It 4zo {Rrnm-). Lortz, Bonifatius i i. Seppclt/ Schweiger 8i.Halter II z8y If. ß o n i f . ep. j8, £8; 8o. Cont. z5 f. Ann. JVlcttens pri88. 8- 741.

Taddey 882 LMA 11 4^9 Donin 11 +97 - ïicllieri 1 ntJ. Schubcrr, Gesrßichte der christlichen Kirch 3o8 f. CaspBF 1 7°5- 7+o f. Heller I zgo f., x9'y. Beern/Bartmuss y3, 28. Wissig i iy. Braunfels, Kzd der Grnße in Selbsncug- nissen dq f.

30 Ann. reg. Franc. ® 717: 7*3- Cont. Frtdeg 3z. Löwe, Deurschlsnd i j r f. Den, Die ksrolingische Reichsgründung 6 f. Mlfram, The Fürsrenturri i6i f. Krawinkel 8 ff. Romnstock jj II. ßlitttis

65 ff. Störmer I 171 ff. Braunfels, Karl der Grofle in Selbsfzeugnis sen q ff. Reindel, Foundation ¥*7 Eppcrlein, Charles the Great 6 i Bonif. ep. *': *7: ^ 9 Ann. Ss. fimandi ad a-7+ . Af1f1. Ïi O6fllÏAnf

ad"- 7'8- L/vt'X' jl 4t8. Ï-ING lil* zy f. HEG I jj8 Levison, Aus rheiniscker and frünkischet Frükzeik y8. Büt'ncr, Frühmictelalter- Chrisienium j¢. 8etri, Der Rhcin p6. Hcrrmann, PP-!'ï! If f. sche Kirckcngeschich'e Falck, Maine t6. Mckittzrick,The Frankish kingdoms 3 f. Srhief- *ter,* Winfried-Bonifacitis zzy f. Liiw'e, Dmtschlsnd ii6. Tellcnbsch, Europa 3izf. Ewig, 1\4ilo ct eiusmodi similes gis I f . Steinbzch, Das Frankenrcich 5i f.,f. Hauck, s.in Utrnhier y36. italians II ler, Die lateinische Kirrhe i3- Ders., BonifatfU^ 7^t . **Ange**neridt, FriihmItt0lAl<*°*7* f. Butzen, Die Merowinger ostlich dus mirtlercn Rhcins 68 If. Anton, the early midclaltrr idn If.

Rau, Briefe des Bonifatius 7. Padberg 8q

32 Banif. tp. doi 66. LMA II q iq. HEG 1 3}q. Schicffer,Winfriod- St. Boniface zza ff., my ff. ner, Germancntumf. Teßenbach, Europa Liz f. Hartmann, Dit 5puren der Karalingerzeit 59 f.

33 Willib. Vit. Bonif. c. 8 f. Ann. teq. +^--' 7s4 Hsnlein II p6. Schicfter, Winfried-Bonifatius z2i ff. Fines q f. SttrnfBartmuxs 88. Dörries II xa. Haller I syd. Hauek, **cin Ucrcchtcr 7'^· Steinbacït, The** Frankenrcich yp. lm HEG \ lägt Schieffez den g¢isrlichm Komplizen der Räuher - cinem -RSubmord- rum fallen victim (p. j§§).

34 Willib. Vit. Bnnif. c. 8. Werner Rau, **Briefe des Bpnifatiug** bjy

a. CHAPTER

STATE OF THE POPETU¥Y5 AND **BILDERSTREIT**

i VgL Note j6 z Ibid. Ibid. ,giro ff. LP z,jry f. Xüüncr, liches Lexikon . mspar ll Eis, ax9. Thüringi-Ï\4ann cit. ibid. §17. S- Seppelr/5chwaiget 6j. Gon'srd isx Caspar ll67i.Seppclt 11 ¢¢If. Seppeltfscliwsiger 6q. Hallet I aha. Orlandis/Ramos-Lisson 186 ff. Casper 11 Sta ff. Caricllieri I 9o If. Daniel-Rope , 39y ff. Heend-8 Hartmenn, Gnchichie xqq I., xo3, znt ff. Komemann ll 457 *f. Buchner, Germanentum rj=. Scppclt/Schwaigcr al ff. S<kwaiger, Honoriusfragc 86 f. -®7 ff. Palanque yS f. Trier in Mango io6 f. 8ock, The Byzanri**nische Jahrtausend 182 f. Diesner,** Der Unzergnng y2. On the monenergism and monotheletism in detailabout Winkclmonn, Book - The churches of light 6z ff. LThK III- 79i f. ttrsh, Kirchcnviterlexikon zfii. Kelly 8}. Hart-

mano, Geschichte Italiens 11 Z I7I j K-T 7 - Hartmann, Geschichte Cartcllicri I ypg. Seppelt !IfL ftalicnsll z z8 II. Haller I zj 7 ff. Kornema/tn fl§67 É. Bucftner, Gcr-iy Afansi zo,yIp ff.; y z,y Of. Harr- M fl ttCftt tt rrf fi y Z f. Ü al ter I z 33. EU - mäflR' ggChi chtg Ilalfeft8 11 pelcMhwaiger 6 f.Schwaiger, ft.S p*y7-* *° Honoriusfragc 8 If. Colef*7 ^@ f., there dit Quellenhinwcist qz f.

10 Mansi i i, iq5 ff., roy ff. Kelly, Lexicon 8 . HKG II/ -37 ff. Hart- i j Ktlly 88. Hartmann, Geschichte mann, Gtschicht- Ital:ens 11 - q f, ltaliens II zzi, sxy f. Scppelt 11 Seppelt 11 u ff. Casper II 6oz ff. y7 f. Palanque j8. Hatler I zjy, Vgl. y x f. Buchner, Germanen- dori die Quetltnhinweise p. 3qz f. rum u . Haller 1 i 6 f. Palanque Ullmann, Kurze Geschichie des j8. Seppeli/Schwaiger Sq.£chwai- q ger, Honotius question qr If., bee. i6 Lib. Ponc. Vit. htarr. q ff. Mansi *y# l.* zo,8yy ff.i zo,86j. Kclly 88. hard-

i Ps. Tcrtull. adv. hom. haer. 8. kti- mann, Ceschichtc Italiens II zzg f. gne, PÏ p6, 3p$' IE, Hipp. cel. p,J 1,1. Haller I z y ff. Palsnque y8

Ygf. also p,1z. Kühner, L¢Xi1on 4s 1g Lib. Font. Vit. Mari. z,jj6 DÉ.

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o Einltard, Yita Caroli C. 7. Transl. s. Lit'nrii c. . Mühlbacher 1 i 9 f. ^*-- '7- S<kubert, Geschichte d-r christlichen KiK>^ ! 334' Huck tt yjz. Wiedcmann r i. Brsndi 6 f. ßppcrlein, Herrschah und Volk j . Zöllncr, Die politi- sche Swllung ryz f. Fleckensccin, K "rolingcrz "it y

ı ı HEG i i t5 thitr Litcrzturhinweist *Anm. iBJ* u. ydD. MonigoiDery 1 iö , iö8. Brsiinfcls, Karl der Gr, mit SclbstzeugniTscn 34 ff. For details see: Richc, Die Karoliwgct
^ +7 ff. Some Forschtr -crrerhncten- bis zu zoo kri<gern, s. ibid. Angenendt, Frilhmittc)altec Std, 9priCht YO¢l etw8 A4CxD dilek- ten Yasallcn und gegen jo ooo Um" tcrvasstlcn, -letz¢erc groffentcils solche der Kir1e-.

Tz *ynnal, tefi,.* Franc. a. yyz. LMA III zzcp f. Y 66j (Xarpf]. MüÏtIha-
chcc I 163 f. Fichtenau, Das karo-
]ing imperium 1y6. Kamin- sky, Studim zur Reichsabrri Cor- vcy zy ff. Wmann, Die Hagiographie -b-wê1'igt- 'yt. Düblcr roy. Print, Herrschahiformen der Church zy. Br "unfels, Karl d. Gr, mii SelRtzeugniesen 3 . Riché, The ltarolingcr i3q. Btmmann 8q f., 88, too. Kahl writes with regard to the -unusually rich booty ... which pious sense had laid down there: who would miss such a thing, if it were only within reach*- Charlemagne and the factual
scn 57

ı3 Annal. reg. Franc. a. y2y f. Groszmann, KlOStCI ÊU ^ 344- TtFäFN IB. The wcitezen quotc BcrtramS ii D<s<hn-r, Dtc Politics of the Pap-
ste II 2oz

ı4 Annal. reg. Frartc. a. 77y f. Rita Vig6erti c. iy. Widukind ',ty. Schultze 1 z9a f. Miihlhacher 1 z63 If. Hautk 11 3x8 ff. 5chuberi, Geschichte der chiizilicheri Rirchc I yjy. Löwe, Deutgchland*43 jordan yjj. Bürtncr, Mission and
Kirchenorganisation 468. Mit die·
This mission was also associated with - m u l t i p l e - mass deployments: &mmann7 . Ders., Die politi- sche und kirchliche Erfassung zq,

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43- <+-i, The Rheff* °4 f. Ahlhcim rdz ff. Stcrn/Bartmusx q8 f. Dollinger, Schwarzbuch i i8 f. Brandi 8, nt f. Steinbach, Das Frankenreich 61. Tellenbach, Europa **tzp. DDnnert** jop. Navy, The A**f^°B° *^ f. Kahl, Karl der Gr. und die Sachsen ö5. Sceinbach, The Frankeoreith 6z. Ebner y6, *So. 4fi.*also Backcs i ff. Hsendler, Die lateinische Kirche qq f. Baumann, Das Paderboiner Epos 3 T§. Eppcr]ein, Ksri jy ff, §6, pz, q . Braunfels, Earl of the Gr. with Self-testimonies q3 f. Fichtenau, Das karolingische Imperium d . Many, probably by far the most historians are full of applause **for Charlemagne's Sachsmgemetzcl. H.-D. Kahl come dicscn S "ch-**

The German Empire is not approached by many others in the past **in terms of impact and influence and historical significance**. Charles the Great and the **Saxons y z £f. Emphasizes and regrets, of course, such a - radical coercion of faith˚, as it - many times- is not found in any other context of world history.**

cherte -ar-. And <r is still figuring added: -The seeds of an Ambrosic and an Augustine have borne fruit in Charles's Saxon Apostleship, of which one would like to know how these church fathers themselves shared them.˚ But that is not really a question! On the other hand, Kahl clearly distances himself from Karl, cf. 5. *qp.*

i y **Ann "l. Run hxF0 ^ 799- Monȼ- gontcry l £6d. GrierSon, Det grolte king ego. Bzandi ze. Star/beard must yp f. jordan jjj. Lion, Dcutsrhlcnd z§$. Blcibcr, Frän- kisch-karolingisclte Klöster ¥zy, there the Hauck quotation. Cf. also Hauck, Die frünkisch-**

Monarchi^ 4*3-
>aczc/5chI¢singcr I jet f. Falck, Mainz c8 f., j$. Ep-
perlein, KarÏ pz f. Fich'ma", The
karo)inB isclse lmperium zpy

16 ++8! *W- +---*- 8. 777 f. Ein hard, Yita Karoli p. Mühlbachcr I drew ff. Kalctthoff §$ ff. Bar*c i zq If,

*7 /tnnal. reg. Franc. a. yy8, Einhard, Vita Karoli q. dtv-Lexikon i5, z i 8 f. Miihlbzcher 1soy If. Epper-
tein, Karl t8 If. Ranke after Borsi: Rankc ... t6o. BuÏlough, Karl
i7 f. Braunfels, Kitt the Great with personal testimonies §D If. Björkam
62 f. Kalckhoff ¢6 f. Bayac
131 ff.

a 8 Annal. reg. Frank-8 778 8f. LThK VI' 68 i f. X' qxy f. LMA V zo)8 HKG III/i 23 Hauck 11 3z ,
j 38 ff. Schubert, Geschichte der christlichen Kirche] 33d ff. Cartcllicri 1 iqq f. Mühlbachnr I ryo ff. Löwe, Germany iqz.
Brandi I4- Coler z8 f. Kleiber, Fr3nk-knrolingische Kloster I$3 f. Köllner, Die pol. sieilong i88 f. Schulte, Die ßesiodlung der Alrmark nt6 f. Eppcrlein, Karl r ff. Sreinhsch, Das Frsnkcn-reich 6o f. Fines z f. Bayac u} If. Riche, Die Karalinger i jy f. Kahl, Karl d. Gr. und die 5achsen f .

19 Aan. reb. Franc. 78a. Bzuer, K., Die Quellen für dus gegen. fllut-
bad von Velden top II. Ulmann,
Zur Einrichtung der Sachsen, i88q {nach Ahlheim i64}. Cf. also the plaintive apologetics of Dorrics, Cermanischc Re- ligion sq3, z98 et al. similarly in the
9th century flCholl Öofffft I t'6I. The new HEG I, in which the Saxon wars are permanently weakened, and also the - "b'urde Zsh1 q ':o- to the -phaniastic indications, as they have been since the nl-

ten Testament» begegnen: S. yyj ff. and Arim. xi. Cf. also the Bmhóníguogcn inn HKG 111/+74- Bütrner, Fríihmitielaherli- ches Chrisrentum, also claims that dad -he does not, of course, offer the "Kahl" of dyøo Gttöreten. And in his contribution to the great and, of course, fundamental work of Charles of our time, he only reports in this context -cia hard surcharge^^^ *of the Fran- cenkonip, dcr in dam Stfafge- **richc zu Verden die volle Schwere dcs Kncgsrechrs xur** Anwendung **brechtc-. Büttncr, Mission und Kitchenorganisańon des Fran- kczileiches ąGy. @'eiȩer nicĽics. Wõ-** bci one from the reference to the War rccfil even nnch ct something more out of the massacre İòxukönnncDagcgcnsutK,ik in detail: von Klocke, Um das Bluthad von Verden iyi ff., esp. i89 ff. Rundnagcl, Der Tag von Yerden soy Îf., bts. also x38 f. Schmitt, W., Das Gericlit zu Ver- deø z 3 ff., according to which, however, the number of victims is said to be - significantly smaller-. A wealth of further and more recent literature in H.-D. Kahl, Knt1 d. Gr. top, note i. 5. also K.F. Wcmtr, Das NS-Ge- schichtsbild 74 ff.

2O 8oullough, Ksrl ßo. About the term -Geisel- cf. for example Dòbler txt f.

21 Annal. reg. Franc-^- 7 ^- ĞdU£k It ją8. Cartellieri, Weltgescbichte I iq8 f. Bertram iq. Rundnagel, **Der Tag voa Ycrdcn** zz7-Zclldcr, Die Verchrung dcs hl. Karl 1oz f. Stcinbach, Das Frankenrcicli 6z. Epperlein, Karl ąo. Braunfels, Charlemagne in personal testimonies ąş f. Bã/aC ^47 Rankc after Borst. Rarike and Charles the Croge t6ø. Graus, Die Einhcit dcr Ge- history ô 3 ÿ . C. Wolf wants the -Saehstnschlächiet- although not -moralicch- justify, crklàri but its -hardness- sus the -5taatsraison- and his -mis- sion consciousness-. Karl i it. Cf. also Angenendi, Frühmitłelalrcr *9 1*. K. Bemman writes, heutc sci the 5treit -for the Fachwcli enrschiedcn-. There is no reasonable, rational reason that speaks against the accuracy of the sources (86 f.). Dcsch- ner, Die Politik der Päpste II z36 ff.

22 Annal. reg. Franc.- 7®3 If. LThK V' 5z f. Sales Doye, Heilige 5i7. Hauck yz*' 349' Jhubcrt, Ge- schichie der christlichen Kirche I yj6. Klocke z88 f. Ahlheim z6' Hampe yo. Brandi *7 !'-g. Schwazzbuch zzo f. Epperłein, hurl'so. Kalckhoff 8z. Srcînbach, Dan Frankenrcich 6i. Bayac ią8 f.

3 Cod. Cero1, 7- °ticÎtII §ĄQ 365. cartellicri 1 iqq. Ncusi/Ocdiger i@, i $z. Ahlheim i6z, i6d. Ham- P° 7+. Epperlein, Karl øi f. Richć, Die Kzrolinger i jy f. Hauck, K., Die Ausbreitung dev Glaubens i58 ff. Althoff, Der Sachsenher- zøg z i ff. Angenendi, Baptism and Politics i yq

^4 Annal. rog. Franc. ^-7®^. Einhard, Vita KaroÎi to. LMA It 6z6 f. Car- cellieri 1 z':o. Dhondc yy. Kalck- hoff 99

25 Keller, Reclaim Lcxikon 338 f. Oonin I *94 ff. Bleiber, Fränkisch-karolingiscŁe Klöiter i3j f.

26 Einhard, Vita Karoli xc. Alcuin ep. I7q: ł ßĄ. Annal. reg. Franc. a. 7F4 i *i oą. Annal. Laii- reskazTi. a. 7px- 7py. Annal. Cuel- £erbytani a.';rpz. Annal. ktasellani *- 79-° MiihlRcher I i 8s If., zş8 f. Hauck It 3*4 f. Bcrcram Is. Schubert, History of the Christian Church

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chen Kirche 1 337 f. riellieri 1 zod. Schöffel, Hamburg I 3y. Meyer, Kirchengcschichtr i8. Winrer-Giinrher ix ff., Iq, z3 f.

* @ 7+- Leo, Germany i ii. Dawson iz8. Star/Bartmuss IO$, x6I, Atttn. 62. epgeflcirf, Karl yx f. Kalckhoff yp, zoi f. Boullough, Kerl 6o. Hcllmznn,

The political and ecclesiastical foundation

86s f.

*7 **Ei-h "rd, Vito Karoli 7th Annal. reg. FraLiC. A.)@; 8¢xj. J\nna). Laurcsham. ^- 794i 796; 799- Jt^- nal. Mose)lani a. App. Annal. Mntens. prior. a. Bog. Chron. Moissiaccnse 8oy. HEG I yy (Schieffer). HauCk I) 3d6 f. Schubert, Gcsckichtc dcr rhristli¢hen Kirch I yj8. cartellicri I zxd f. Bcicsel tt . Group II y f. Aklhcim ^*4 !' ^^p^ 7^. Löwe, Deurschland z. Brandi 6 f. Schöffcl 18. Srern/Bar must 1pj. Kähler, Die**

Ot'onische Reichskirchc ^54- *Per)ein, Karl yj. Braunfe)s, Karl d. Gr. in SelbStzeugn'^ ^ 47' °^- führlieh: Winter-Günther zq ff., z ff., }q ff., 28, 8 ff.

z8 Bcrtr* °7- *^

zq Capit. de part. Sax. AG Font. rea. Ccrm. yy ff. Capt. Saa. ebd-4f *!- LMA II z§8 z, 7§8j. **Hauck II** 3 o ff. Schubert, Geschichte der christlichen Kirche 1 3js ff. 5chnürer, Kirche und Kultur I 3q5 f. Meyer, Kirchcngeschichtc r8 f. Voigt, Sr "at j3i. Dtögereit, Die schri£'licheIs Q--!!-^ 4'i7 !- Stcrn/Bsr'muss zoo ff. Eppcrlein, VIII 37 !-- +34- as., Hcrwhxft und Volk yj. Breunfels, Charles the Great in Sclbstteugnisse" jy. Richs,

Öie Karolin$cr Ij}. Hitftmarttl, The Synods ioi f.

jo Einhard, Vits Ksrol °' 7- J -- Walter 3oi f. Zöllner, Die politische Stellung xzq refers to it Hirsch, H., Der mitrelalterli- che KaiSergedanke in den liturgischen Gebeten, und: L. Biehl, Oas liturgische Cebei für Kaiser und Reich, iq3y. Modern research, such as Braunfele, Karl der Gr. in Sclbsrxeugnissen'gj: - Through his material wars, Charles created Oeuicch- land.

31 HKG *tut i* zi

32 Annnl. luvav. Maximi a. 2yz. Viia Carb. c. 39i 4^' HEG I yy6. Hauck

17 ff., 4 f. Schubert, Geschichte der christlichen Kirche 1 33q. Wuldtnüller iiz f. Holtcr 4j ff. ZimmecTTiann, Der Gunzwi- tigau)9 ff. Öparber, Zue ältesten

Gcschich c J4 - Osl, C<schichtc Baycms Iqy f.Ders., TheFoundation Innichens 4s¥ff., 6y ff. Löwe, Germany *4S- Hurcr y o ff.

Dem., Die ka-- '°B Reichsgrüadutig zy ff. zu Löwe. Klebel, Sied- Iurig5geschichte gz ff. (by Klcbcl g€spctn). Kanzcnbsch, Ccschichtc der christlichen Kirche im Mitielsl- ter 8o. Rcindcl, Grundlegung uz, *t J J V-,* z y ff., xt3. Ders., Die Bistumcozganisation z ff. Dcrs, Heriog Arnulf zxo. Siörmer, Früher Adel 1 zu. Oettinger 5an Siemf Ba¢tTRUS8 lOg f. Maier. KilChCngC- schichte von Kärnten 116. Lechner Studien zur Besirz- und Kirch¢nge- schichte iq ff. MIfeam, O "s Für- stentum i6y ff. Zöllnec, Der baye- rische Adel 3sx ff. i'rini, Entwick- lungung 3 } ff- 1.echner, Oer -pagus Gronzwiti- 3oz ff. Xoroior, The slaviiclic settlement roy ff., esp. IO$

33 Anw. Frawc. y8i. Heuwieser, Gewhichtfl +^7- ° fAm, Das Fiif5tenltffY1 169 ff. Sch}eSfnger, The Hearing 8oy f. Bullough, ÜäT$ 7- I^° i2q ff- Riche, The Carolingians i3o f. Haendler, The

lacinian church yo f. Ygl. also dic folg. Note.

34 **Einhsrd Virs. Ka oli c. z. Cane. Francof. I7s1I -- j. Annpl. reg. franc. 7^3.** 7®^: **7*7 !- -^¥I Lt¢€6Ü0M ä. 7®7 !-i 794' ^ '1*! MoSe]l. a. 7B7 (with incorrect location). Anna). Nazdl- ^- 78B. Annas. PetäV. 0- 7®^. AnnaL Ad- ^^^*- 77*- HEC t y6j. Mühlb"- cher 1 who ff., xy t. Carrellicri ! drew ff. Group TI 6-** Hartmann, **History Ic "licns II joy f. Lö- we, Deutschland 1-ty f- F:tulfner j6z ff. Sprigatc, Die Einwei5ung** So ff. Stem/Bartmuss roy f. Zd]}- ner, Dre politische 5tellung i If. Aubin, **Die** Verwandlung -7 Tomck, Kirchengeschichte Osterreichs y. Uffelmann, Das Regnum x ff. Barrsclough, Dit mittelalterlichen Crundlagen 6. M icteis, Lrbrirccht 68 f. Krawiwkcl i7- Reindel, ßayem and Karolingerrcich -*4 !- Dcrs., Grundlcbung r z ff. Dcri., Duke Amutf *zz$* ***(t., z§6.*** **covenant** j88 fL Grsus, Herr$chak und Treue zy. Steinbach, Das Frankenzcich 6j. F1ekkenstein, Ciru-d ^B°^ ^ tz f. Best, Bayerischc Gcschichtt Jq. Epper- lein, Km '7 . Reindel, Dre politi- sche Entwicklung zwo f. Bratin- fele, Karl d. Gr. in Selbsrzcugaissen ¡t, 9, ¡x ff. Althoff, Der Sec£mnherzog zyi. At the same time A. just under ze Stitcn earlier even with reference to Desideriu5, Tassilo and the Carolingian Pippin of the - degrading Bcdin- gongen- of the -K losterhzft- ge-. *plays* KSt*: Kb*'d z 5$. Str r -KWeck- entfrcmdung- von Kliistcrn als Gefängnisse see also Goetz, Leben **im Mittelalter 87**

35 Greg. Tur 4-*3- 4.*s ^-r^+^ Taschen-Lcxikon I zpj; VI ryo. LMA 1 1z8j II. II pz y. Heirs y. Smdt- mùllcr 93 f., zm, i io f. Michel, Langobardtii, Baluwacen, Slswtn ioi ff. Dere, Sicd1t=B-geschichrc iq, 6. Dannenbautr 11 q f. Vecnadsky i6z ff., joy f. Htrrmann, Slavic-Germaniuhe Beziehungto x i ff. Numerous bclege ibid. 33 ff. Doonert aq . Reindel, Grttndlcgtl0g 101, IX I, I-{2, I}A, ^7I· Zòllner, Die politi¢che Stef- lung iq3. Ewig, Oit Merovingian j . Schlesinger, Zur pol. Gc- schichte xz sc¢zt den Awarcnkricg y6c or y6j to. Hellmann, New Kraftc in Osceurops jyy ff.

y6 Anna|, r Fran--^- 7*®-79a. API nal. LaurcshaTU. ^- 79+. AllFtã). qu. dic. Einh. 79a· Dor war report of Charles to Kastrada: MG Epiit. IV jz8. HEG l f7. Hauck, II ¢iq f. Hartmano, history **Italiens II 3x4 ff. Simson, Jahrbü·** cher der Fränkischtn Reiches II ze ff. Mühlbacher i z 6 f. Cartcllitri I zo$. Naeglc I y9 f. LMA 1 6 y. Tomek, Kiichengcschichte Ostcrreichs yy. Hcuwicser, Geschichte 1 ia8 f. Löwt, Oeursch- **!--d ^4- StemYBaTzmasg 1o6 f. Aklheim z6y P. S td\miiiler jy describes the elimination of the Avars as -the main kin-** dernis for the missionization and **penetration of the** Danube region**. V/inccr-Günther xo. Daniel-Rops jtj ff. Xalckkoff ya f. Klebel, Sicdlungsgesthichtg 4P f. Reindcl, Bayern im Karolingcr-** *coded z)m* **Eppctlcin, Karl yj. Bay-** *xc g8 f., zo6 If,* Riché, Dic Karolingcr z z6, 1jp. Stcinbach, Das Fmnkenreich fij f. Mckiitcrick, The Frunkish kingdpme az Erdilyi, Slawcn, Awarcn, tfngarn i 3 f. Htllmann, Neu Kräfie in Osteuropa 6o. Since the late Merovingian period, the bishops became more and more mi)i'a-

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rian mafia and war tames, they **succeeded in** building up their own military power: emperors, bischofih-r'xhsf 71 -' 8°'- 78- Kur - rcdemptio- see also Angewandt, Das fVliitclalter si i

17 Annal. reg. Franc. a. j9z f. Mübl- bacher l zqq f. Hofmann, Fossa *+° °° 437 ff. Summary by i ff. Epperlcin, Karl y f. Bayac ii 8

38 Eincard. Vica Karoli 13 Annal. reg. Franc. P. 7p6i 8o§, 8z6. Annal. Lucsh-*-*79.LThKt1T74T LMA)llzr¢gK,**63(Ditmitrl ly i j}o f. ¡Störmer). Mühlbacher I zyr ff. Hauck I\ yzc. Cartcllicri I -op. N9egle I yi. Maier, Kirchen- geschickte von Kannten II d II. To- mek, Church History of the Eastern Empire 77 f. Herrmann, Slawicch- gcrmznische Beziehungen 68 ff, 7 ff. lwith iahlrcichen Quellenbe- ltgen). Stadtmüller i j6. Löwe, Germany rd6. StemfBartmuss wy f. Ahlheim i66 f. Zöllncr, Die politische Stellung zz f* Kos- minski l iq}. Eppcrlein, Karl q f. **Heuwieser, Geschichte** l i jo, xq8. 8oullough, Karl iö6 f- Klebel, Oie **Ostgcenze** x ff. He, Settlement **geschichte yp (by K. gcspcrn). Prcidcl, Slawische A)rertumskun-** de 1 in ff. Viezy, Die AnfänB- -s- Brackmann 6o f., 6§ f., 9o ff. Ri- **che, Die 9/elt der Karolingcr 6y II. Kalckhoff, Karl zy II, 5$ f. Steinbach, Das Frankenrcich 6 . On the almost legendary esteem of the Avars, see also Kol-** laurz, Die Awaren i4$ ff., also i6# ff. On the poverty of the masses cf. besides Richii especially also Mol- lat, esp. i ff., 38 f., gr ff.

3q Alcuin ep. roy. Cf. ep. i io f. Hauck I! 4*^ !f. St "dtmüller zjz ff. vaczy z j ff. Maier, Kir- **chengcsckichte von Kätnirn II s ff., z ff. Tomck, Church** History of the Eastern Empire 78 ff. Zagiba Mao ff. Dreidel I my f. Kawerau, Geschichte der mittelalterlichen Kirche i3o. Reindel, Bayern im Karolingerrcich zqz ff. Bosl, Gc- sent Bavaria t §6 - ^7- Den, Europe in the Middle Ages i7 . Ders., 8ayerisrhe Geschichte ao ff. Brackmann 6 rf.,Bx ff., y4 ff. Ep- per)cin, Kar) jy. Starter I zfa. I-futer §jj. Neuwie6or, History 1 rjo fL, zg8 f., zo6 f. Navy, **Die AnfSngo z8 f. hlccLenstcin, Basics and beginning g6. Bors', conke +77. on the further seat** of the Bavarian **monarchs and monasteries in the course of the next centuries ygl. prince, Entwicklung 355 ff., 373 ff.**

40 City garbage zip. KBwerau, Geschichte der mittelalterlichen Xirch- ja. Danncnbsucr, Basic ß^^ 43 !-

41 Ann. reg. franc. 28g. LMA III ^779 ff. 5tadimüller s jy. Heuwi> ser 1 id8 f. Preidrl 1 8q. Reiridcl, Grundl-gun¢ ty r

42 Ann. reg. Franc. a. 8o$ ff. Chrqn. Moies. a. 8nj. Ann. Retiens, a. 8o5. Ann. Quedlinb. a. 8oç. Ann. Lnbitns. a. 8oy. LMA ll jjJ f. Czrtcllieri I zzy. Aulliauscr, Bay. Missionsgeschiclite i. Sfadcmiil- **ler 137. Naegle I 39 ff. Hellmann,** K9rl und die **sI-wischc Wir** yzy f. **Herrmann, Slawisch-germanis¢ ze** Beziehungen 8§. Brgckmann 67 f., py. Reindel, Die politischc Ent- **wicklung z88 f. Den.+ Grundlegung z$6 f. Jenkins jp. Bayac** xq¢ f. Richt, Die Welt der Karolinger q$. Vgi. also Fricdmann, Untersuchungen xur Geschichte z$ ff. ChropnvxkJ, Das Croßmährischc Reich i6a, Herrn, Deutschlands Herz i f.7

§jNotkcr , Gora Karoli z,1x. Dad- *day,* Lexicon 86p. d v-Lexicon **XIII yo.** Zöllncr, The political **Stellung 150**

44 Ann. ry Franc. 8o f. Stsdtmiil- ler i j2. Brackmänrt *7 *- Novy, Die Anfänge des bohmischen Staates a. Teil 1j8. Herrmann, Die Slewen in Deutschland z6o

48 Annan. f'tg. FtitoC. 4. $08, 810 f. HEG I y . Epprrlein, K8fi i7 - Bayac, Karl iq8 f.

46 LMA II 1 7 ff {Flcckcnstcin}

47 Miihlbacher I x89. Classen, Ro- **manum gubernans imperium 4 ff. Daniel-Raps yz§. B8/0^ *77 !- On the accuracy of the title, see also Ullmann, Die Machtstellung**
+7^

48 HEG i 5öy. HKC lhm zz. Mühl- bachcr *®7 . Sommerlad 11 yy,yo f., 78 ff. Wissig i q. Miiller-Mertens yi ff. Sieinbach, Das Frankenreich ya. Fleckmstein, Das groBfrankiuht Reich x8o f. Richt, Oie Katolfng€t °^7' writes: -Karl was a warrior with heart and soul, **loved** battle **and knew no rest.** hepause.- See also i6o ff.

‹9 HEG I 56r f. Schubert, Geschichte **der christlichen Kirche I y6t ff., y6y f. Crupp I! z6. Grierson, The Great King zpi. Fleckenetein, Charlemagne and his court Hz ff. D-rs.. The Court Cases 0!!^47 !!' ^+^'- Crundlagcn u. Beginning Bj f. Ko- • -^7 7^- Eppcrlcin, Karl ®7f., pj. Kählcr, Die Ottonische Rcichskirche z§ . Tellcnbacfi, Eu-**
Pa 4o8 f- 4H (L Dawson z i6 f. Aubn, The border r8. Ke sten y6 f. Haendler, Die lareini- ch- Kirche y8. Hl "witschk", Franken, Alemznncn z9 f. finge- nendt, Das Frühmitttlalicr =6i. See also z88, joy, jn

yo Libri. Carol. z,z8. Einhsrd. Visa karoli c. y.Theod. i. Orlc Carm. lz v. 4 (MG Pnctae lztini l Hz j). Cartellicci, Weltgeschichic 1 zy. Acrsscn, Rirchtngcschichtc i nt f. Wein y. Gontard, Die Pipsic ii.

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ABBREVIATIONS

of sources, scientific journals and references, which are frequently cited in the notes.

Adam von Bremcn, Ccsta T4amm: Gesta Hammobulgensis eccÏe9iae pontificum

Aga¥hias: Agathias (Srholastikoc) sus Myrins (Aiolis}

AHVN: Annalen dci Historixhen Vereins für den Niederrhein, Cologne r8 ff.

A]kuin, Yita &iÏIibr.: Vi¢a Willib'o'di (MG Scripr. rer. Merov. y,8z Of-)

Annal. Azza.: AnnaJes &octi Amaodi

Ann.luvav.: Annales luvavenses msxi-

Ann.Lzu h.:AunalsLzuexhamcn-

Ann. Lauriss.: Annales Laurisstnses

Ann. h'taxim.: Aonoles Maximiniani

Ann. Mettons.: Aanales Meitrnses priorcs

Ann. Moselle: Anoales Mosellzni

A n n . Naz.: Anna les Nazatianî

Ann. Pet-: Annales Pctaviani

Ann. Qucdl.: A nnsles Qucd1inburgenscs

Ann. reg. Franc.: Annales rcgni Francorum (Reichsannalen)

Apoll. Sid.: Apollinaris 5idonius (ssuch Sidnnius Apellinaris)

August. civ. dgi: Augustine, de civitaie Dei

Arit. Vienn: Avitus of Vienne

8sudon.: Baudonivia, Vitz Radegundis IMO Script, rer. Merom. **A,322** ff.)

s<d- h.c.' 8ede Vcnerabilis, Historie ecclHIa8ttca g rttf$ Äfl lottllYl

Bernard of Clairvaux. De considcratione libri V {PL **Z8*-7*7!!!)**

Bencd. Reg.: Regula Bencdicti

Bonif. cp: Boniface, Letters

Caes. Arles: Czesarius of Arlcs, Sta- tuta inncrarum virginum

Cass. Dio: Cassius Dio

Cass. var: FÏavius Magnus Aurclius Cassiodorus, Variae

CÏiron. Sal.: Chronicon Salerniranum

Cod. Carol.: Cadex Carolinus Contin.

Frcdcg.' Frrd "garii Continua-

DAh1: Deursches Archie for Gtschicbtcdn MittclaltOFS ^937 !!!' ("b vol. 8. for research into the Middle Ages)

DKG: German Journal for Gechicllts wisgenschafr

Einh.: Einhard, Yita Karoli

Ennod.: Magnus Felix Ennodius, Yita S. Epiphanii

fitn5Pb. h.e.: EUsebiu6 Y9O Caesareit, Church History

Flodoard von Reime, Flodoardi historia Remensis ecclesiae

FMSt: Early Medieval Studies, Berlin i9a7 ff

Frcdeg.: Chronicorurn quac dicuniu Fredcgarii J¡bri qusiru

Greg. I. Pope Gregory I. hom.: Homiliew

Greg. I. reg. pasror..: Liber rcgu]"e pastoralis (4 books)

Greg. I. Dial.: Dialogi dc vita et culis patrum Italicoruin (curses)

Greg. I. Morzl.: Moralia in Job **Greg. Tur: GrcB or son Tours, Historîarum libri X (Hist. Francorum)**

Greg. Tur: Mircculorum libri vlll

Greg. Tur. virt. De virnstibtis

Greg. Tur. vir. pscr.: De vica pa'rum

Greg. Tur. g]or. rond.: in gloria confes- sorum

HEG: Handbuch der Europaischcn Geschichte, ed. by Theodor Schitffer, I 'iq9x
HJb: Historical Yearbook
HKCi: Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte, ed. by Huberr Jedin, vol. 11 u- III 19y3/8x
HZ: Historical journal
Isid. Sev.: hist. got.: lsidor of 5evilla, history of the Gotcn, sandals and searches
JbAC: Yearbook for Aniites and Christentum
Jer.: Jtretnia
)cc.: jess|a
jK: Rcgcsta Pontificum R.omanorum ab condita ccclesia ad annum post Christus natum MCXCYtlJ by Ph. Jaf́lú et al, 88y If.
Jonas Vit. Cnlumb: Jones of Bobbio, **Visa Columbani**
jonas Yit. Ved: Vifa s. Vcdasti
word. get.:/ordsncs,dc origins ecEibusque Gctarum (Gotengeschichre)
Libcr fion¢.: Liber Pontificalis, z Bdc., ed. Ducheirtt 1886 ff., *i9y y, vol. 3 ed. by C. Vogel, z957
LMA: Lexicon of the Middle Ages, iqao ff.
LThK: Lcxikon for theology and the church
Mansi, Gone. **Coll.: J.D.** htansi, Sacrorum conciliorum nnva et amplisüm '"Hmio.NachdruckundFox-setzung ed. v. PctitfMartin, **1899 If.**
MG: Monumenta Gertnaniae Histerica
WIOC-: Communications dts lnsciiurs for Austrian research, i8ao ff
Notk. Gesr. Cat.: Notkeri Gesia Karoli {Tsten Karls}
Olymp. frg.: Olympiodoros, author of ax books bts. iibcr dit -rströmierhc Ceschichte z>- 4W Und dz5
Optat.: Optatus from ?Viilewe
Oros. hiit.: Orosius, Historiae advers. paganos libri VII
Paul. Diac. Hist. lang.: Paulus Dî8konus, Historia Langobardorum
PG: Patrologiae cutsus compltius ... **series graeca**
PL: PätrologiaC ctIT'sus compÏc¢us . ... series latina
Prokop. bell. got.: Prokop von Cacsa- rea, Gothenkricg
Prosper, Chron.: Tiro Proeper, Chronik IPL 6i, 3y ff.)
QFIAB: Sources and research from Italian archives and libraries, Zciuchr. des Prcuß',ischen bzw. Deutschen Historischen Insti- tuts in Rorri, 1898 ff.
RAC: Reallcxikon für Antike und Christentum, pyo ff.
RGAK: Rcallcxikon der gcrmanischcn Altcrtumskundc, zy" ff.
S "cc.: Saeculum, yearbook for university history
Salv. dc gub.: SalVianus of Mossilig, de gubernation- d-i
Sid. Apol1; see also Apol)inaris Sidonit15
Socr. h,t.: Socrarei, Kirchcngc chichte
Sulp. Stv.: Sulpicius Severus dial. Dialogorum libri duo
Sulp. Scv.: Yir. Marr.: Vita S. Msnini
Syn.: Synod
S2£I: Swiss magazine fiic Ge uhichte
ZBKG: ZeiwchriG fiir Bayerische Kirchengeschichie, xqx6 ff.
ZBLG: Znitschrift für bayerische Landcigeschichte, i9z8 ff.
ZGW: Journal of Historical Science
2KG: 2titcchschrift mir Kirchengeschichte
ZSRG: Zcitsclsrih der Savignystihung lür Rcchtsgcschirhte

REGISTER

The following index includes all the names of persons contained in this volume, including fictitious, legendary or falsified ones, as well as the names of all more or less fictitious or mythical figures from ancient literature or other traditions.

The quotes were taken literally from the Quemen.
ctual names are used in various spellings.

To facilitate the search, in certain cases one and the same person has been included in the index with several names. Cross-references are largely omitted to save the user inconvenience.

First names, titles, ranks, relationships, time references supplement the keyword pragmatically, not systematically, so that the reader does not have to look it up unnecessarily. as a rule] secondary characters are characterized more precisely than the main characters.

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ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Karl Heinrich Leopold Deschner was born on z5. May Iqxp in Bamberg. His father Karl, a Catholic forester and fish farmer, came from a poor background. His mother Margareta Knroline, née Reischböck, **Catholic, grew up in her father's castle in Manken and Lower Bavaria. She later converted to Catholicism.**

Kar)heinz Dnchncr, the gltcsce of three children, went to elementary school in Trosscnfurt (Steigerwald) from zpzy to pjy, dsnach to the Frsnziskancr- scminar DctteÎbach am Main, where he initially¢ extcrn bci the Fsmilîc of **his baptismal and confirmation godfather, the Geistiichen kats Leopold Baumann, then lived in the FrantisLanerkloster. From *934 to 1pj- b-su<h'c he attended the Alte, Neuc and Dcutscke Gymnasium in Bamberg as an intcrnate student at Ksrmelitcrn and Englische Fraulcin. In Marx p he passed the &cifc exam iie scinc whole Klsssc he immediately enlisted as a conscript and was - rncltrally wounded - 6is to capitulaûon soldier, finally fallcchitmjager.**

Initially fcmîmmsrrikulÎert as a student of the Forsrwissenschsfren on the Univcrsicat of Munich, DescÎsner 1p§<*t7-ndet Phi1osophisch-chwlogischen Hocfischule in **Bambcrg juridical, tÎseological, plzilosophisclte and psycftologic lecturescn. From ys'7 to p t, he studied New German Literature, Philosophy and History at the University of Würzburg and** completed **his** doctorate **with a thesis on "Lcnaus Lyrik sis Ausdruck metaphysischer** Vcrzweiflung**". A ccr in the same year, Elfi Tuch cntstamm0n d£ci Kindcr, Ka'ja (zgyz), Bar- bel (yyjg) and Thomas (tpjs to t9 4)**

From 1s-4to 4p6 lcbrc Dcsckner on an earlier }sgdsirz of the wortburger prince-bishops in Tretzendorf (Srcigcrwald), then 2'wei /years in the country house **of a friend in Fischbrunn (Hersbrucker Schwciz). Şeitdcm he lives in Haf'Îfurt am Main.**

Karlhcinz Deschncr has published novels, literary criticism, essays, aphofisms, especially "bcr religious and ecclesiastical **history". Over the years, Dcschncr has fascinated and provoked his audience at over two thousand lecture events.**

my, he stood trial in Nuremberg for church abuse. By the way, Dcschner was working on his great "Crimitialgcschichtc des Christentums". Since there are no posts, bcamtenstcllen, research grants, honorary salaries or scholarships for such restless spirits as ikn, his immense research work and presentation was only possible thanks to the generous help of a few friends and readers, above all thanks to the support of his generous friend and patron AlfroJ Schwarz, who sponsored the publication of the first volume6 in September 1986.

noth, but did not live to see the second ßand, then the German entrepreneur Herbert Steffen.

In the summer of 9 7, Deschner lectured at the University of Münster on the subject of the criminal history of Christianity. Deschner was honored for his commitment to Christianity and his literary work. Kzrlheint Dtschner iq88 - after Koeppen, Wollwhläger, Rühmkorf - was a w a r d e d the Arno Schmidt Prize, in June i qqj - after Walter Jens, Dieter Hildebrandr, Gerhard zwerenz, Robert Juagk - with the Alternative 8üchntrpreis and in July iqq3 - after Sscharow and Dublek as the first German - with the International Humanist Award.

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